THE EXPEDITION OF CYRUS INTO PERSIA; AND THE RETREAT OF THE TEN THOUSAND GREEKS.

TRANSLATED FROM

XENOPHON,

WITH

CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL NOTES,

By EDWARD SPELMAN, Esq.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

THIRD EDITION, CORRECTED.

VOL. I.

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M.DCC.LXXVI.

TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE

LORD *LOVELL*.

MY LORD!

IF I wanted a Reaſon for dedicating this Tranſlation of *Xenophon* to your Lordſhip, I could eaſily find one in the many Years of Acquaintance, I may ſay, of Intimacy, I have paſſed in your

Neighbourhood: But your Lordſhip's ſuperior Knowledge in ancient Literature, your Acquaintance with the moſt celebrated Authors, your Sagacity in diſcovering, and Judgment in admiring their Beauties are not ſo properly Reaſons to perſuade, as Claims to challenge a Dedication of one of the politeſt Authors of Antiquity. On the other Side, how will your Lordſhip, who reads the Original, not only without Difficulty, but with Admiration, bear to ſee the Elegance of an *Attic* Author debaſed by the Rudeneſs of a *Gothic* Language, and, what is worſe, by the Incapacity of the Tranſlator? The firſt of theſe it is not in my Power to reform, and if the laſt is in any Degree improved, it is owing

ing to my Converſation with your Lordſhip.

I remember, when we were Fox-hunters, and a long Day's Sport had rather tired, than ſatisfied us, we often paſſed the Evening in reading the ancient Authors; when the Beauty of their Language, the Strength, and Juſtneſs of their Thoughts for ever glowing with a noble Spirit of Liberty, made us forget not only the Pains, but the Pleaſures of the Day.

WONDER not, my Lord! that I am willing to recal thoſe Seaſons of Delight, ſince they afforded me a double Pleaſure, one ariſing from the Authors themſelves, and

and the other from your Lordſhip's Obſervations on them. I have too great a Regard for the Reputation of thoſe Authors, not to make it known, that, next to Nature, they have made your Lordſhip one of the beſt Judges in the World, in Painting, and Architecture; it is owing to your exquiſite Taſte in both, that *Holkham* is an *Athenian* Country-Houſe in every Thing, but the Danger of being eminent; but your Lordſhip is yourſelf an Inſtance, that, in *England*, though as free as *Athens*, Eminence may be univerſally acknowledged without being expoſed.

It muſt, however, be owned that theſe Monuments of your Taſte, which your Lordſhip will leave

leave for the Inſtruction, and Admiration of Poſterity, might ſeem to intimate in the Mind that raiſed them, a Want of that Perfection, they themſelves ſo juſtly boaſt of, if you did not at the ſame Time, leave the Perſon, who, according to the Courſe of Nature, will ſucceed you, qualified to reliſh the Poſſeſſion of them: This you have effectually provided for, by taking Care that, as Nature has made Mr. *Coke* Heir to your Underſtanding, and the Law to your Fortune, his Education ſhould make him ſo to your Accompliſhments.

THAT your Lordſhip may long enjoy the Knowledge you have treaſured up, and your Son have long the Improvement of your Example,

ample, as he has already had That of your Inſtruction, and that I may long be a Witneſs of both, are the ſincere Wiſhes of,

MY LORD!

Your Lordſhip's

Moſt Obedient Humble Servant,

EDWARD SPELMAN.

THE

PREFACE.

THERE is not, possibly, a more difficult, a more discouraging, or a more useful Task than That of a Translator; when I say this, I mean one who writes a Translation, not a Paraphrase, under which Name most modern Performances of this Kind ought to be comprehended. It was very judiciously observed by Mr. Pope, *in the Preface to his incomparable Translation of the* Iliad, *that* there have not been more Men misled in former Times by a servile dull Adherence to the Letter, than have been deluded in ours by a chimerical insolent Hope of raising and improving their Author. *If these Liberties are not to be allowed in translating Poets, much less ought they to be indulged in translating Historians. These Paraphrasts, it seems, are*

Men of too exalted a Genius to ſtoop to a literal Tranſlation; they muſt improve their Author, by adding ſomething, which he ignorantly omitted, or by omitting ſomething, which he vainly thought material; by this Means, the Readers, who cannot compare the Tranſlation with the Original (for whoſe Uſe chiefly Tranſlations are intended) have either ſome wretched modern Interpolation impoſed on them for the Thoughts of an Ancient, or loſe ſome of the Author's Thoughts, which the Title of a Tranſlation gave them a Right to. But theſe Gentlemen have another Reaſon for paraphraſing, inſtead of tranſlating, if they will own it; they find leſs Difficulty in cloathing modern Thoughts in a modern Dreſs, than in making Thoſe of an Ancient appear gracefully in a Language ſo very different from That, in which they were conceived: For it is a Work of greater Difficulty, than thoſe, who have not experienced it, can poſſibly imagine, to give an Appearance of Novelty to Antiquity, to give Light to thoſe Things, which the Ignorance of ancient Cuſtoms, and Manners has rendered obſcure, to give Beauty to thoſe that are obſolete, to give Credibility to thoſe that are doubtful, and, above all, to give to a Copy

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the Air of an Original. Yet all these, however difficult, belong to the Province of a Translator; these are Embellishments, which he is to acquire, if he can; but his first Duty is Fidelity to his Author: without that, his Performance is not what it professes to be, and, in that Case, these Embellishments, like royal Robes upon the Back of an Impostor, are rather a Mockery than an Ornament. If to the most exact Fidelity a Translator joins Beauty of Language, Strength of Expression, and, above all, Perspicuity; and if, with these, he has Genius enough to animate his Translation with the Spirit of his Original, he then performs every Duty belonging to his Profession. I am far from thinking that my Translation of Xenophon *has all these Perfections; on the contrary, I am sensible that it is in this, as in most other Things, much easier to point out a Duty, than to fulfil it. But I should be very much wanting in that Respect which every Author owes to the Public, if I did not assure them, that no Endeavours, no Application, no Labour has been spared to render this Translation fit to be laid before them. If the Difficulties a Translation meets with are considerable, the Discouragements he labours under*

are no less so. The great Number of anonymous Translations, the great Number of Translations of Translations, for which we in England *are famous; but, above all, some very unfortunate Versions of Lives from the* Greek *into our Language, to which the Names of Authors justly admired for every other Kind of Writing are prefixed, shew the small Account the World has Reason to make of Translations, as well as the Difficulty of succeeding in them. These Considerations, I say, are powerful Discouragements to the undertaking any Thing of this Kind; but, if these are not sufficient to deter, let it be considered how unjust a Way of thinking prevails with most Readers; if there is any Merit in the Performance, it is placed to the Account of the Author, and if any Fault, to That of the Translator. Yet it should seem that Translations might deserve more Indulgence, when it is considered how many Persons of great Parts, who happen to be unacquainted with the learned Languages, particularly with* Greek, *would, without that Assistance, be deprived of the Satisfaction, and Improvement of reading ancient Histories written by ancient Authors; for, I dare say, those, who are conversant with both, will allow that*

those

those Histories are generally so much disfigured, and distorted by modern Relators, as scarce to be known: An Instance of this we see in our Countryman Sir Walter Raleigh, *who has, in my Opinion, treated ancient History with more Strength, and Dignity than any modern Writer of any other Nation, and yet, let his Account of the Battle of* Cannæ, *though a military Subject, and therefore particularly within his Province; let his Account, I say, of that Battle be compared with the Relation given of it by* Polybius, *from whom he took it, and what I have advanced will plainly appear. When I say this, I do not mean to insinuate that Sir* Walter Raleigh *was inferior, either as a Soldier, or a Scholar, to* Polybius; *for I am thoroughly convinced of his great Abilities, his Fate alone is a Proof of them: The only Disadvantage he lay under, was in being less acquainted with the Manners, Customs, and Discipline of the two contending Nations at* Cannæ; *so that I am confident, whoever reads the two Relations of that Battle, will agree with me that a close Translation of the Account given of it by* Polybius *would have been much more satisfactory and instructive, to those who cannot read the Original.*

THE

THE Reader will obſerve that I have, in the Courſe of my Notes, principally taken notice of three Tranſlations, That of Leunclavius, *of* Hutchinſon, *and of* d'Ablancourt; *there is, beſides, an* Italian *Tranſlation of the Expedition of* Cyrus *by* Gandini, *which I have occaſionally conſulted; but, as in Caſes of Difficulty I found no Aſſiſtance from thence, and, as I thought a Criticiſm upon a Tranſlation in a third Language would incumber the Notes, I have choſen to take no Notice of it. I am alſo ſenſible there is a* Latin *Tranſlation of this Hiſtory by* Stephens, *which I have mentioned as occaſion required. But I cannot part with this Subject without taking particular Notice of Mr.* Hutchinſon's *Edition of the Expedition of* Cyrus, *which I look upon to be the beſt edited Book in the World, except the* Cyropædia *publiſhed by the ſame Author: If I have ſometimes differed from him, I hope it will be thought I have ſupported my Opinion in ſuch a Manner that he will have no juſt Reaſon to find Fault with me. I have obſerved the ſame Conduct with Regard to* d'Ablancourt, *the Looſeneſs of whoſe Tranſlation I have been frequently obliged to condemn; on the other Side, it will be allowed that*

that I have often commended him; though I cannot carry my Commendations of him ſo far as his Countryman Menage, *who ſays that* d'Ablancourt has ſurpaſſed even *Xenophon* himſelf in the Elegance of his Style. *Another celebrated* French *Critic*, Balzac, *ſays, that* d'Ablancourt's Tranſlation of *Xenophon* would be incomparable, if he had placed nothing before it, but that his Preface is ſo fine, that it obſcures the fineſt Things that can be compared to it; *he adds that*, if it were poſſible for *d'Ablancourt* to have lived in the Time of *Cyrus* the Younger, and for *Xenophon* to be now alive, the Prefaces of *d'Ablancourt* would deſerve to be tranſlated by *Xenophon*. *The Reader will obſerve that this forced Style was in Faſhion among the* French *in* Balzac's *Time, that is, in the Infancy of their Taſte; the Writers of that Age ſeem to have impoſed an Obligation upon themſelves of being for ever witty; they were often ſo, but that was not enough; this eternal Straining after Wit obliged them many Times to have Recourſe to forced Turns of Thought, and, ſometimes, to what their Language calls* Phœbús, *that is, ſhining Expreſſions that ſeem to ſignify ſomething. After the Reader*

Menage *upon* Laertius, *p.* 103.

Balzac. *Letters to* Conrart, 1 *B.*

has compared the many Paſſages I have taken the Liberty to cenſure in d'Ablancourt *with the Original, he will be able to judge how far he has ſurpaſſed* Xenophon *in the Elegance of his Style, and how far, according to the Suppoſition of* Balzac, *his Works might deſerve to be tranſlated by* Xenophon. *But there is an old* Engliſh *Tranſlation of the Expedition of* Cyrus *by* John Bingham, *printed in* 1623, *and dedicated to the* Right Worſhipful the Artillery Company. *The firſt Notice I had of this Tranſlation was by a Note of* Hutchinſon *about the Middle of the laſt Book; he alſo mentions it towards the End of the ſame Book, where* Xenophon *ſays* Gongylus *marched out to the Aſſiſtance of the* Greeks βίᾳ τῆς Μητρὸς, *upon which Occaſion,* Hutchinſon *ſays* vis phraſeos omnino latuit verſionis Anglicanæ Authorem; *and, indeed, he had great Reaſon to ſay ſo, for, upon looking into* Bingham's *Tranſlation, I find he has rendered that Paſſage,* by Compulſion of his Mother, *whereas he ſhould have ſaid* againſt his Mother's Will, *in which Senſe all the other Tranſlators have rendered it. I do not remember that* Hutchinſon *has taken any Notice of this Tranſlation but upon theſe two Occaſions.*

Find-

Finding therefore, by Hutchinſon's *Note before mentioned, when I had not more than half the laſt Book remaining to compleat my Tranſlation, that there was an old* Engliſh *Verſion of the Expedition, I employed ſeveral of the moſt eminent Bookſellers in Town to get it for me, but all in vain; for none of them could find it, neither would they be perſuaded there was any ſuch Book extant, 'till I referred them to that Note of* Hutchinſon: *However, at laſt I got a Sight of it from a public Library. Upon comparing it with the Original, I found the Author was a Man of ſome Learning, from whence I conclude that he muſt have made Uſe of ſome very faulty Edition, otherwiſe, it is not poſſible that a Man of Learning, (for ſuch he really ſeems to have been) ſhould ever have been guilty of ſo many Miſtakes, as are to be met with through the whole Courſe of his Tranſlation: As to his Style, it ſeems to be, at leaſt, a Century older than That in which he writ. There is, in the fourth Book, a Converſation between* Xenophon, *and* Cheiriſophus, *in which they rally one another upon the Art of Stealing, ſo much practiſed by their reſpective Countries; the Foundation of which Rallery is the Advice given by* Xeno-

phon *to* ſteal a March to ſome Part of a Mountain they were to paſs. *As the Spirit of Rallery is, of all others, the moſt likely to be loſt in a Tranſlation, for that Reaſon, Rallery itſelf is the laſt Thing one would chuſe to tranſlate, if it did not neceſſarily come in one's Way; upon this Occaſion, therefore, I was in Hopes of receiving ſome Aſſiſtance from the old* Engliſh *Tranſlation, which I ſhould both have made Uſe of, and acknowledged very readily; but, upon Examination, I found this Paſſage tranſlated in the following Manner*, it ſeemeth to me not impoſſible to ſteal ſome Part or other of the Hill. *After this, I dare ſay, it will eaſily be concluded that I could entertain no great Hopes of any Aſſiſtance from that Quarter. Many ancient Authors, both* Greek, *and* Latin, *and, particularly, thoſe, who were themſelves, fine Writers, as well as judicious Critics, ſuch as* Dionyſius *of* Halicarnaſſus, *and* Tully, *have celebrated the Beauty of our Author's Style, his Perſpicuity and that peculiar Sweetneſs in his Compoſition, which made his Writings be called the Language of the Muſes: The latter goes ſo far as to ſay that* Lucullus, *being ſent to make War upon* Mithridates, *which was no eaſy Province, and*

and being unacquainted with the Duty of a General, acquired, by reading the Expedition of Cyrus, *ſo great a Knowledge in the Art of War, as to owe his Victories againſt that Prince to the Information he received from it. However this may be, we find, by the Commentaries of* Cæſar, *that he often made Uſe of the ſame Diſpoſitions againſt the* Gauls, *which* Xenophon *had employed, with ſo great Succeſs, againſt the* Perſians: *But, what is much more for the Credit of our Author, it is obvious that the Expedition of* Cyrus *was the Model of theſe Commentaries; the ſame Elegance, the ſame Clearneſs of Expreſſion, the ſame unaffected Grace, are the diſtinguiſhing Characters of both; and poſſibly, the* Greek, *and* Latin *Languages, have nothing in their Kind more perfect than theſe two admirable Performances. I am ſenſible that all Commendations beſtowed upon the Original, tend to expoſe the Tranſlation to Cenſure, which I ought not, in Prudence, wantonly to ſolicit; but I was willing, if I could not do Juſtice to* Xenophon *by tranſlating him, to endeavour to do it, at leaſt, by commending him: This may be thought a ſmall Amends for the former: However, the Determination of this Queſtion muſt be left to*

the Voice of the People, who are ſtill Sovereigns in This, and who, as they were formerly remarkable for their Juſtice in deciding the Fate of Mankind, are ſtill not leſs ſo in determining That of their Productions; ſo that, to uſe the Words of my Anceſtor, * *in the Preface to his* Gloſſary, *I ſubmit my Labours, and Errors to the Public.*

* Sir *Henry Spelman*, who was great great Grandfather to the Author.

A

SHORT ACCOUNT

OF

XENOPHON.

XENOPHON was an *Athenian*; his Father's Name *Gryllus*. All that we know of him 'till he attended *Cyrus* in his Expedition, is, that he was a Diſciple of *Socrates*. If, to have been a Diſciple of that great Man was an Inſtance of his good Fortune, the Improvement he made of that Education is an Inſtance of his Merit; and, indeed,

no-

nothing leſs than the happieſt Diſpoſition, the beſt Education, and the greateſt Improvement of both, could render *Xenophon* that univerſal Man we find him in his Writing: his *Cyropædia* ſhews him to have poſſeſſed, in a ſovereign Degree, the Art of Government; his *Expedition of Cyrus* ſhews him a compleat General; his Hiſtory, an entertaining, an inſtructive, and a faithful Hiſtorian; his Panegyric of *Ageſilaus*, an Orator; and his Treatiſe of Hunting, a Sportſman; his Apology for *Socrates*, and the Account he gives of his Manner of converſing, ſhew that he was both a Friend, and a Philoſopher; and all of them, that he was a good Man. This appears remarkably in his preſerving *Byzantium* from being plundered by his Soldiers, who, having gained no other Reward of the dangerous Expedition they had been engaged in, but their Preſervation, were not only ſtrongly tempted to plunder that Town by the hope of making their Fortunes, but juſtly provoked to it by the diſingenuous Behaviour of the *Lacedæmonian* Governor; yet theſe two lawleſs Paſ-

Paſſions, Avarice, and Revenge, the Authority, and Eloquence of *Xenophon* quite ſubdued.

As *Cyrus* had aſſiſted the *Lacedæmonians* in their War againſt the *Athenians*, the latter looked upon *Xenophon*'s Attachment to that Prince as criminal, and baniſhed him for engaging in his Service. After this, *Xenophon* attended *Ageſilaus*, when he was ſent for by the *Lacedæmonians* with his Army from *Aſia*; where, the Succeſs of his Arms gave ſomething more than Uneaſineſs to *Artaxerxes*, who, not without Cauſe, began to fear the ſame Fate from *Ageſilaus*, which his Succeſſor, *Darius*, afterwards found from *Alexander*; but the former, by corrupting the *Greek* Cities, and, by that Means, engaging them to make War upon the *Lacedæmonians*, ſuſpended the Fate of *Perſia* for a Time: But, in all Evils, Relief, obtained by Corruption, is only a Reſpite, not a Cure; for, when *Alexander* invaded *Perſia*, the ſame low Arts were again practiſed by *Darius* to recall him from *Aſia* by a Diverſion

in

in *Greece*; but, these proving ineffectual, the *Persians*, by trusting more to the Vices of their Enemies, than to their own Virtue, became an easy Conquest. *Agesilaus*, soon after he returned, fought the Battle of *Coronea*, where, though wounded, he defeated the *Thebans*, and their Allies; at this Battle *Xenophon* was present. After that, he retired to *Scilus*, where he passed his Time in reading, the Conversation of his Friends, Sporting, and writing History. But, this Place, being over-run by the *Eleans*, in whose Neighbourhood it was, *Xenophon* went to *Corinth*, where he lived 'till the first Year of the 105th Olympiad, when he died in the ninety-first Year of his Age: So that, he must have been about fifty Years of Age at the Time of the Expedition of *Cyrus*, which was the fourth Year of the ninety-fourth Olympiad, just forty Years before. I am sensible some learned Men are of Opinion that he was not so old at the Time of the Expedition, though I see no Reason to disbelieve *Lucian* in this Particular,

Xenoph. λόγ. εἰς Ἀγης.

πρ. μακροβ. who says that *Xenophon* was above ninety Years

Years of Age when he died. However, this is beyond all Diſpute, that he lived 'till after the Battle of *Mantinea*, which, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, was in the ſecond Year of the 104th Olympiad, be- Diod. Sic. 15 *B.* cauſe he cloſes his Hiſtory of the Affairs of *Greece* with the Account of that Battle: In which Account it is very extraordinary that he ſhould ſay nothing more of the moſt remarkable Incident in it, I mean the Death of *Epaminondas*, than *that he fell* in the Action; but this may be accounted for by that Modeſty, which was the diſtinguiſhing Character of our Author, becauſe it is well known that *Epaminondas* fell by the Hand of *Gryllus*, the Son of *Xenophon*, who was ſent by his Father to the Aſſiſtance of the *Athenians*. It will eaſily be imagined that a General, at the Head of a victorious Army, then purſuing his Victory, could not be attacked, much leſs ſlain, without manifeſt Danger to the daring Enemy, who ſhould attempt it. This *Gryllus* found, for he had no ſooner lanced the fatal Dart, which deprived *Thebes* of the greateſt General of that Age, but he was

cut to Pieces by the Friends of *Epaminondas*. When the News of his Death was brought to *Xenophon*, he ſaid no more than that *he knew he was mortal.*

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THE

INTRODUCTION.

NOTHING ſeems to contribute more to the forming a clear Idea of any Tranſaction in Hiſtory than a previous Knowledge both of the Perſons, and Things that gave Birth to it; for, when the Reader is once acquainted with the Characters, and Views of the principal Actors, and with what has been done in Conſequence of both, the Scene unfolds in ſo natural a Manner, that the moſt extraordinary Events in Hiſtory are looked upon in the ſame Light as the moſt ſurprizing Phenomena in Philoſophy; that is, like theſe, they are found to be the neceſſary Reſult of ſuch Principles, as the all-wiſe Creator has thought fit to eſtabliſh; and, like theſe, are as little to be wondered at, and

as eaſy to be accounted for. In Order, therefore, to enable the Reader to view the Conſequences in their Principles, and contemplate the Embryo Plant in its Seed, I ſhall lay before him a ſhort Account of the moſt remarkable Tranſactions, that ſeem to have had an immediate Influence upon That, which *Xenophon* has choſen for the Subject of his Hiſtory. The Affairs of the *Athenians*, and *Lacedæmonians*, had been, for ſome Time before the Expedition of *Cyrus*, ſo much interwoven with thoſe of *Perſia*, that all three ſeem to have had a Share in every remarkable Event, that happened to each of them: Thus, the Supplies of Money with which *Lyſander*, the *Lacedæmonian* General, was furniſhed by *Cyrus*, enabled him to carry on the War againſt the *Athenians* with Advantage, and, at laſt, to give them a deciſive Blow at *Ægos Potamos*, which ended in the taking of *Athens*; and, on the other Side, the Aſſiſtance which *Cyrus* received from the *Lacedæmonians*, both by Sea, and Land, in return, encouraged him to an Attempt of no leſs Moment than the dethroning his Brother *Artaxerxes*. The

ſeveral Steps which led to this Enterprize equally great, unfortunate, and unwarrantable, ſhall be taken Notice of in the Order of Time in which they happened; in this ſhort Survey, I ſhall avoid entering into any Chronological Diſcuſſions, which often puzzle, ſeldom inform, and never entertain, but confine myſelf almoſt entirely to *Diodorus Siculus*, who, beſides the Character he has deſervedly obtained for Fidelity, and Exactneſs, had the Advantage of living many Centuries nearer the Tranſactions he recounts, than thoſe who differ from him in Chronology, as well as That of conſulting many Authors, whoſe Works are unfortunately loſt to modern Ages: Neither ſhall I go further back than the taking of *Athens* by the *Lacedæmonians*, which happened in the fourth Year of the ninety-third Olympiad, and put an End to the *Peloponneſian* War, after it had laſted twenty-ſeven Years. The ſame Year died *Darius Ochus*, King of *Perſia*, after a Reign of nineteen Years, and left his Kingdom to his eldeſt Son *Artaxerxes*, who was born before he was King: *Paryſatis* his Queen, the moſt artful of all Women, and Mo-

Diod. Sic. 13 *B.*

ther both to *Artaxerxes*, and *Cyrus*, tried the Power of every Practice to engage *Darius* to imitate his Predeceſſor, *Darius Hyſtaſpes*, who preferred his Son *Xerxes*, born after his Acceſſion, to *Artobazanes*, who was born before it; but all her Efforts proved ineffectual, and *Artaxerxes* ſucceeded his Father without Oppoſition. If the Arts of *Paryſatis* could not prevail with *Darius* to ſet his eldeſt Son aſide, her Fondneſs for *Cyrus* not only encouraged him to form a Deſign againſt his Brother's Life, but reſcued him, if not, from Diſgrace, at leaſt, from Puniſhment, when it was diſcovered. The next Year, which was the firſt of the ninety-fourth Olympiad, there happened an Eclipſe of the Sun, which is only taken Notice of, as it is no ſmall Satisfaction to find Hiſtory, upon this Occaſion ſupported by Aſtronomy, by which it appears that the Eclipſe of the Sun, mentioned by *Xenophon*, in his *Greek* Hiſtory, to have happened this Year, fell out on the third Day of *September*, upon a *Friday*, at twelve Minutes after Nine o'clock.

Herodot. *in* Polyhymnia.

Xenophon, 2 *E.* Uſſer. *p.* 128. Petav. *de doctr. Temp.* 13.

The ſame Year, *Cyrus* returned to his Government in *Aſia Minor*, with a Mind

more

more exaſperated at his Diſgrace, than terrified with his Danger, and immediately reſolved to repair the Diſappointment of private Treaſon by open Hoſtility; to this Purpoſe, he addreſſes himſelf to the *Lacedæmonians*, who chearfully eſpouſe his Quarrel. This Intercourſe between *Cyrus*, and the *Lacedæmonians*, could not be carried on ſo privately, as to eſcape the Notice of *Alcibiades*, who, being baniſhed from his Country, was now retired to *Grynium*, a ſtrong Place in *Phrygia*, appointed by *Pharnabazus* for his Reſidence, to whom he immediately communicates his Intelligence, deſiring him, at the ſame Time, to appoint proper Perſons to conduct him to Court, that he might give *Artaxerxes* an Account of the whole: But *Pharnabazus*, being willing to have the Merit of a Diſcovery of ſo great Importance, ſent Perſons of Truſt to *Artaxerxes* to lay the Information before him. *Alcibiades*, ſuſpecting his Deſign, left *Pharnabazus*, with an Intention to apply himſelf to the Satrape of *Paphlagonia*, to the End, that, through him, he might be recommended to *Artaxerxes*; but *Pharnabazus*, fearing the

Ephorus, 17 *B. in* Diod. Sic.

King

King ſhould, by this Means, be informed of the Truth, prevented his Deſign, by ordering him to be put to Death.

Diod.Sic. 14 *B.*

THE next Year, that is, the ſecond of the ninety-fourth Olympiad brings *Clearchus* upon the Stage; he makes ſo conſiderable a Figure in the enſuing Hiſtory both by his Conduct, and his Fate, that the Incident we are going to ſpeak of, which happened juſt before he engaged himſelf in the Service of *Cyrus*, and which ſeems to have driven him into it, muſt not be omitted: It ſeems, the Inhabitants of *Byzantium* being engaged in Factions, the *Lacedæmonians* ſent *Clearchus* to compoſe their Differences, who uniting them in nothing but their Complaints againſt himſelf, the Ephori recalled him: But he, refuſing to obey their Orders, they ſent *Panthædas* with ſome Troops, to force him to a Submiſſion. With theſe he defeated *Clearchus*, and obliged him to fly to *Ionia*; here he was received with open Arms by *Cyrus*, to whom his Experience in military Affairs, his enterprizing Genius, and, poſſibly, even his Rebellion, were, at this Juncture, no

ſmall

ſmall Recommendations; ſince he could not but look upon a Man, who had dared to fly in the Face of his Country, as a proper Perſon to bear Command in an Army, which he was raiſing to invade his own. It was upon this Occaſion that *Cyrus* gave him the ten thouſand Daricks mentioned by *Xenophon*, with which he levied a conſiderable Number of Forces, and engaged them in his Service.

THE next Year *Diodorus Siculus* paſſes over without taking Notice of any Thing relating to this Expedition, ſo we may conclude that *Cyrus* employed it in continuing his Preparations under various Pretences, particularly, ſince we find him in the Field early the Year after. *Sardes*, the Capital of *Lydia*, and, formerly, the Reſidence of its Kings, was the Place of general Rendezvous; from hence *Cyrus* marched at the Head of about twelve thouſand eight hundred *Greeks*, and one hundred thouſand *Barbarians*, to diſpute the Crown of *Perſia* with his Brother *Artaxerxes*; and, from hence, *Xenophon*, who came to him to *Sardes*, begins his Hiſtory of this Expedition.

Xenophon, *Exp. of* Cyrus, 1 *B.*

THE Year, which decided this great Conteſt, was the 783d Year from the taking of *Troy*, the 351ſt of *Rome*, *Publius Cornelius*, *Cæſar Fabius*, *Spurius Nautius*, *Caius Valerius*, *Marcius Sergius*, and *Junius Lucullus*, being military Tribunes; and the fourth Year of the ninety-fourth Olympiad, *Exænetus* being Archon at *Athens*: This Expedition has, I find, been thought of Conſequence enough to be taken Notice of in the *Arundel* Marble, the eightieth Æra of which has theſe Words, * *From the Time thoſe, who aſcended with* Cyrus, *returned, and* Socrates, *the Philoſopher, died, being ſeventy Years of Age, one hundred and thirty-ſeven Years,* Laches *being Archon at* Athens.

Diod. Sic. 14 *B.*

THE Year the *Greeks* returned was the Year after they marched from *Sardes*, ſince *Xenophon* ſays they were fifteen Months in their Expedition, and conſequently, that Year was the firſt of the ninety-

* The Words of the *Arundel* Marble are theſe:

ΑΦ' Ἧ ἐπανῆλθον οἱ μετὰ ΚΥΡΟΥ ΑΝΑΒΑΝΤΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΣ ἐτελεύτησε βιοὺς ΕΤΗ ΡΟΔΔΕΤΗ ΠΑΔΔΙΠΠΟΥ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΘΗΝΗΣΙ ΛΑΧΗΤΟΣ.

fifth Olympiad; the Authority of the *Arundel* Marble is supported by *Diodorus* Diod.Sic. *Siculus*, who says that *Laches* was Archon [14 B.] that Year at *Athens*, and that *Socrates* was put to Death the same Year.

THE

THE

[a]EXPEDITION[b]

OF

CYRUS.

TRANSLATED FROM XENOPHON.

BOOK I.

CYRUS was the youngeſt Son of *Darius*[c] by *Paryſatis*, and Brother to *Artaxerxes*. *Darius* being ſick, and apprehenſive of his approaching End, deſired both his Sons might attend him.

[a] *D'Ablancourt* has thought fit to change the Title given by *Xenophon* to his Hiſtory, and, inſtead of *The Expedition of* Cyrus, to call it, *La Retraite des dix mille*; the reaſon he gives for it is this, he ſays, 'Things ought to derive their Name from that which is moſt remarkable in them, and

him. *Artaxerxes* the Eldeſt being then preſent, he ſent for *Cyrus* from his Government with which he [d] had inveſted him,

that the Expedition is nothing in compariſon to the Retreat. I own this Reaſon does not perſuade me; whatever weight it ought to have had with the Author, I think it ſhould have none with a Tranſlator.

[b] Ἀναβάσεως. Every one who is converſant with the *Greek* Authors, knows, that whenever they ſpeak not only of Military Expeditions, but even of Journeys undertaken by private Perſons from the *Leſſer Aſia* to *Babylon* or *Suſa*, the Reſidence of the *Perſian* Kings, they uſe the word ἀναβαίνειν; the ſame word came afterwards to be applied to the City of *Rome*, though more rarely: *Arrian*, who in his Expedition of *Alexander*, has followed our Author, not only in the Diſtribution of his Work into ſeven Books, but in his Style, as far as he was able, has alſo copied him in his Title, calling his Hiſtory alſo, ἀνάβασις Ἀλεξάνδρου. *Hutchinſon* thinks that the Rivers of that part of *Aſia* in queſtion, falling into the *Ægean* and *Mediterranean* Seas, gave occaſion to theſe Terms ἀναβαίνειν, and καταβαίνειν; but it is certain that almoſt all the great Rivers of that part of *Aſia* run either to the North or South, as the *Halys*, the *Iris*, the *Thermodon*, the *Tigris*, and the *Euphrates*.

Dem. Phal. *Sect.* 19. [c] Ἀκριβὴς καὶ Παρυσατιδος, &c. This firſt Period is much celebrated by *Demetrius Phalareus*, as full of Dignity and hiſtorical Simplicity.

[d] Καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀπέδειξε. *D'Ablancourt* has viſibly miſtaken this paſſage, he makes *Darius* conſtitute *Cyrus* General at his Arrival at Court, *à ſa venüe*; whereas it not only appears from this Paſſage, but from Hiſtory alſo, that he was actually inveſted with that Employment when he was ſent for: I with the old *Latin* Tranſlation, which ſays, *Praetorum dignat*, did not lead him into this Error; *Hutchinſon* has tranſlated it properly, *Praefectum deſignaverat*. I ſaid that this alſo appeared from Hiſtory: Our Author, in his Account of the Affairs of *Greece*, mentions a Letter to have been written by *Darius* to the People of the *Leſſer Aſia*, ſix Years before this Expedition of *Cyrus*; in this Letter, *Darius* gives them notice of his

Xenoph. Lacon. 1 B.

having

him, as [c] Satrape, having alſo appointed him General of all the People, who aſſemble in the Plain of *Caſtolus*. Hereupon, *Cyrus* came to Court, accompanied by *Tiſſaphernes* as his Friend, and attended by three hundred [f] heavy-armed *Greeks*, under the command of *Xenias* of *Parrhaſie*.

AFTER

having appointed *Cyrus* Commander in Chief of thoſe People, who aſſemble in the Plain of *Caſtolus*: The Words of the Letter are theſe; καταπέμπω Κυρον Κάρανον τῶν εἰς Καϛωλὸν ἀθροιζομένων. τὸ δὲ Κάρανον ἐϛι Κύριον.

[c] Σατράπης, though uſed both by *Latin* and *Greek* Authors, is a *Perſian* Word, and ſignifies a Commander, a General; Σατραπαι, Αρχηγοὶ, ϛρατηλαται, Περσικὴ δὲ ἡ λεξις. *Heſychius*. *Herodotus* ſays, *Darius Hyſtaſpes* appointed twenty of theſe Governments, ἀρχὰς κατεϛήσατο εἴκοσι, τὰς αὐτοὶ καλέουσι Σατραπήας. Herodot. in Thalia.

[f] Ὁπλίτας. *D'Ablancourt* excuſes himſelf for not diſtinguiſhing theſe heavy-armed Men in his Tranſlation; but I do not only think it neceſſary to diſtinguiſh them from the light-armed, but to give ſome account of their Diſtinction. There are three different kinds of Foot-Soldiers chiefly mentioned by our Author in the courſe of this Hiſtory, the Ὁπλῖται, the Ψιλοὶ, and the Πελτασται; of whom, and of their reſpective Armour, *Arrian* gives the following account in his *Tactics*: τὸ ὁπλιτικὸν, ſays he, ἔχει θώρακας, καὶ ἀσπίδας παραμήκεις, καὶ μαχαίρας, καὶ δόρατα, ὡς Ἕλληνες, καὶ σαρίσσας, ὡς Μακεδόνες. The heavy-armed Men have Corſlets, long Shields, and Swords, and Pikes, like the *Greeks*, and Spears, like the *Macedonians*. τὸ δὲ ψιλὸν ἐναντιώτατον ἔχει τῷ ὁπλιτικῷ πᾶν, ὅτι περ ἄνευ θώρακος, καὶ ἀσπίδος, καὶ κνημίδος, καὶ κράνους, ἐκηβόλοις τοῖς ὅπλοις διαχρώμενον, τοξεύμασιν, ἢ ἀκοντίοις, ἢ σφενδόναις, ἢ λίθοις ἐκ χειρός. The light armed Men are armed in a quite different manner from the heavy-armed, they have no Corſlets, or Shields, Greaves, or Helmets, but altogether make uſe of miſſive Weapons, ſuch as Arrows, Darts, and Stones thrown by Slings, and out of the hand. τὸ δὲ πελταϛικὸν δὲ κουφότερον μὲν τυγχάνει ὂν τοῦ ὁπλιτικοῦ· ἡ γὰρ πελτη, σμικρότερον τῆς ἀσπίδος· δὲ ἐλαφρότερον, καὶ τὰ ἀκόντια

AFTER the Death of *Darius*, and the Acceſſion of *Artaxerxes*, [g] *Tiſſaphernes* accuſes *Cyrus* to his Brother of Treaſon: *Artaxerxes* gives credit to the Accuſation, and orders *Cyrus* to be apprehended, with a deſign to put him to death: but his Mother having ſaved him by her Interceſſion, ſends him back to his Government. *Cyrus*, as

ἀκόντια τῶν δοράτων καὶ σαρισσῶν λειπόμενα, βαρύτερον δὲ τῦ ψιλῦ. The Targeteers are armed in a lighter manner than the heavy-armed Men, for their Bucklers are ſmaller and lighter than the Shields of the latter, and their Darts ſhorter than thei. Pikes and Spears; but their Armour is heavier than that of the light-armed. Theſe three kinds of Foot-Soldiers are ſo often mentioned by *Xenophon* to have been employed by the *Greek* Generals, and particularly by himſelf upon different occaſions, according to the difference of their Armour and Manner of Fighting, that I thought it neceſſary at firſt to give the Reader a clear Idea of that difference.

[g] Τισσαφέρνην. This is the ſame *Tiſſaphernes*, over whom *Alcibiades* gained ſo great an Aſcendant, that he governed him not only in his Politicks, but in his Pleaſures. We ſhall find him in the Courſe of this Hiſtory at the Head of the *Perſian* Army, that endeavoured in vain to cut off the Retreat of the *Greeks*: But the Treachery he was guilty of in relation to the *Greek* Generals, after they had incautiouſly put themſelves in his Hands, muſt render his Name ſo odious, that it may not be unacceptable to the Reader to be informed of his Fate after this Hiſtory leaves him. *Ageſilaus* being ſent by the *Lacedemonians* at the Head of an Army into *Aſia*, and having gained many Advantages over the *Perſians*, *Artaxerxes* looked upon *Tiſſaphernes* as the Cauſe of the ill Succeſs of his Arms, and being incenſed againſt him by *Paryſatis*, in Revenge for his Behaviour to *Cyrus*, he appointed *Tithrauſtes* to ſucceed him in his Government with Orders to cut off his Head: This happened in the firſt Year of the 96th Olympiad, that is, about five Years after the Expedition of *Cyrus*.

Plutarch *in* Alcibiades.

Diodor. Sic. 14 *B.*

as ſoon as he left the Court after this Danger and Diſgrace, [h] deliberates by what means he may no longer be ſubject to his Brother, but if poſſible, reign in his place. In this he was [i] ſupported by his Mother *Paryſatis*, who had a greater love for *Cyrus*, than for the King *Artaxerxes*; and when any Perſons belonging to the Court reſorted to him, he ſent them back more diſpoſed to favour him than the King: Beſides, he took ſo great care of the *Barbarians* who were with him, as to render them both good Soldiers, and affectionate to his Service: He alſo levied an Army of *Greeks* with all poſſible Secrecy, that he might find the King in no degree prepared to reſiſt him. And whenever he recruited the Garriſons that were diſperſed in the ſeveral Cities under his Command, he ordered each of their Officers

[h] Βουλεύεται ὡς μήποτε ἔτι ἔσται ὑπὸ τῷ ἀδελφῷ. This is rendered by *d'Ablancourt*, *il ſongea aux moyens de ſe venger de cet affront*; which may be a Tranſlation of any other Paſſage, as well as of this.

[i] Παρύσατις μὲν δὴ μήτηρ ὑπῆρχε τῷ Κύρῳ, &c. *Leunclavius* has tranſlated this Paſſage, as if ὑπάρχω ſignified here ὑμνὶ, in the ſame ſenſe as *Plutarch* uſes the Word, ſpeaking of this very thing, ἡ δὲ μήτηρ ὑπῆρχε μᾶλλον τὸν Κῦρον φιλοῦσα; but every body knows that ὑπάρχω, with a Dative Caſe, ſignifies to favour; *Hutchinſon* has ſaid very properly, *mater a Cyri partibus ſtetit*. *D'Ablancourt* has thought fit to leave out this Period entirely.

cers to inlift as many *Peloponneſians* as poſſible, and of thoſe the beſt Men they could get, under pretence that *Tiſſaphernes* had a deſign upon thoſe Cities. For the Cities of *Ionia* formerly belonged to *Tiſſaphernes*, having been given to him by the King, but at that time they had all revolted from him to *Cyrus*, except [k]*Miletus*: The Inhabitants of which being engaged in the ſame Deſign, and *Tiſſaphernes* having early notice of their Intentions, put ſome of them to Death, and baniſhed others; theſe *Cyrus* received, and raiſing an Army beſieged *Miletus* both by Sea and Land, endeavouring to reſtore the baniſhed Citizens: this he made another pretence for raiſing an Army; and ſending to the King, he deſired, that, as he was his Brother, he might have the Command of theſe Cities rather than *Tiſſa-*

[k] Μιλήτε. A conſiderable City of *Ionia*, not far from the Mouth of the *Maander*; at the time of the *Trojan* War it was inhabited, according to *Homer*, by the *Carians*, whom he mentions among the Allies of *Troy*.

Il. β. Νάστης αὖ Καρῶν ἡγήσατο βαρβαροφώνων
Οἳ Μίλητον ἔχον.

This Town, having revolted from the *Perſians*, at the Inſtigation of *Ariſtagoras*, was retaken by them ſix Years after that Revolt. About ſixty-ſeven Years after the Time our Author ſpeaks of, *Alexander* took *Miletus*, after a brave Reſiſtance from the Garriſon, conſiſting of three hundred *Greeks* then in the Service of the King of *Perſia*.

Herodot. *in* Erat.

Arrian, 1 *Book*.

Tiſſaphernes: In this alſo he was aſſiſted by his Mother; ſo that the King was not ſenſible of the Deſign that was formed againſt him, but looking upon theſe Preparations as directed againſt *Tiſſaphernes*, was under no concern at their making War upon one another: For *Cyrus* ſent the King all the Taxes, that were raiſed in thoſe Cities, which had been under the Government of *Tiſſaphernes*.

He had alſo another Army raiſed for him in the *Cherſoneſus*, over-againſt *Abydus*, in this manner. There was a baniſhed *Lacedemonian*, his Name *Clearchus*; *Cyrus*, becoming acquainted with him, [l] admired the Man, and made him a Preſent of ten thouſand [m] Daricks; with which Money *Clearchus*

[l] Ἡγάσθη τε αὐτόν. Ἄγαμαι, θαυμάζω. *Phavorinus*. In this ſenſe I have Tranſlated it, though I muſt own I am pleaſed with what *d'Ablancourt* ſays, *Cyrus le gouta*. As *Clearchus* makes a conſiderable figure in this Expedition, our Author has given his Character at the end of the ſecond Book; but there being ſome Particulars relating to him mentioned in *Diodorus Siculus*, which are not there taken notice of, I thought the Reader might not be diſpleaſed to be informed of them, for which reaſon I have mentioned them in the Introduction.

[m] Δαρεικός. The Darick was a *Perſian* Gold Coin. Ariſtoph. *Suidas*, *Harpocration*, and the Scholiaſt of *Ariſtophanes*, ſay Ἐκκλησιάζουσῶν. it was of equal value with the *Attick* χρυσοῦς, or with twenty Silver Drachms, that is, the 5th part of a ſilver Arbuth-Mine, ſixty of which made a Talent, which laſt amounted not *on antient Coins*.

Clearchus raiſed an Army, and marching out of the *Cherſoneſus*, made War upon the

to 193—15—0 Sterling; ſo that ten thouſand Daricks will make $33\frac{1}{3}$ Talents, or 6458—6—8 of our Money. On the reverſe of this Coin was an Archer, which gave occaſion to *Ageſilaus* to ſay, that he was driven out of *Aſia* by thirty thouſand Archers, meaning ſo many Daricks diſtributed among the *Greek* Cities by the King of *Perſia*. The Authors before mentioned inform us, that this Coin did not derive it's Name from *Darius* the Father to *Xerxes*, but from another more ancient King; who that ſhould be, is not ſo well underſtood, ſince *Darius Hyſtaſpes*, the Father to *Xerxes*, and one of the ſeven *Perſian* Noblemen, who put the Magi to death, was the firſt *Perſian* King of that Name. I am ſenſible *Prideaux* is of opinion, that *Cyaxares*, Brother to *Mandane*, and Uncle to the firſt *Cyrus*, is *Darius* the *Mede* mentioned by *Daniel*, from whom, he ſays, this Coin took it's Name, and who cauſed it to be ſtruck at *Babylon* during the two Years he reigned there; but *Xenophon*, in his *Cyropædia*, mentions ſome of this Coin to have been found among other Riches, by *Cyrus*, in a Caſtle belonging to *Gobryas*, even before the taking of *Babylon* by the *Medes* and *Perſians*. Sir *Iſaac Newton* thinks that *Darius* the *Mede*, when he and *Cyrus* took *Sardes*, melted down all the *Lydian* Money he found there, and recoined it with his own Effigies. But *Xenophon* ſpeaks of Daricks upon the occaſion already mentioned, even before the taking of *Sardes*, which preceded that of *Babylon*. It is not poſſible this could have eſcaped a Man, to whom nothing either in Hiſtory or Nature was unknown; it is much more probable that he looked upon it as an Anticipation in *Xenophon*, which Opinion, I find, prevails with ſome learned Men. There is however a Paſſage in *Herodotus* in *Melpomene*, which almoſt inclines one to think, that *Darius Hyſtaſpes* was the Author of this Coin, notwithſtanding what *Suidas*, *Harpocration*, and the Scholiaſt of *Ariſtophanes* ſay to the contrary; he ſays there, that *Darius Hyſtaſpes* refined Gold to all the Pureneſs that was poſſible, and coined it into Money, Δαρεῖος μὲν χρυσὸν καθαρώτατον ἀπεψήσας εἰς τὸ δυνατὸν ἐποίησε νόμισμα: Now it is certain that all Authors celebrate the Daricks for the Fineneſs of the Gold: And a few Lines before,

Plutarch *in* Artaxerxes.

Herodot. *in Thalia.*

Daniel v. 31.

Xenoph. ἐν Κύρου παιδείᾳ. 5 *B.*

Herodot. *in* Melpomene.

the *Thracians*, who inhabit above the *Helleſpont*, which, being a great Advantage to the *Greeks*, induced the Cities upon the *Helleſpont* to ſubſiſt his Forces with greater Chearfulneſs. Thus was this Army alſo ſecretly maintained for his Service. *Ariſtippus* of *Theſſaly*, between whom and *Cyrus* there was an Intercourſe of [n] Hoſpitality, being oppreſſed by a contrary Faction at home, came to him, demanding two thouſand Mercenaries, and their Pay

the ſame Author ſays, *Darius* did this with a view of leaving behind him ſuch a Monument as *no other King had done*, μνημόσυνον ἑωϋτῷ λιπέσθαι τοῦτο τὸ μὴ ἄλλῳ εἶη βασιλέϊ κατεργασμένον.

[n] Ξένος. Ξένος καλεῖται ὁ ὑποδεχόμενος, καὶ ὁ ὑποδεχθείς. *Phavorinus*. In the ſame manner *Hoſpes*, every one knows, has both an active and paſſive Signification. Theſe Rights of Hoſpitality were of ancient Date, and of ſo ſacred a Nature, that *Jupiter* himſelf was thought to preſide over them, and to puniſh the Violations committed againſt them; for which reaſon he was called Ξένιος; with whom *Ulyſſes* in *Homer* endeavours, to very little purpoſe, to threaten *Polyphemus*. Odyſ. 1.

Ζεὺς δ' ἐπιτιμήτωρ ἱκετάων τε ξείνων τε
Ξένιος, ὃς ξείνοισιν ἅμ' αἰδοίοισιν ὀπηδεῖ.

This Tradition *Virgil* has, among many others, tranſplanted into his *Æneid*; where the unhappy *Dido*, when ſhe firſt entertained her *Trojan* Gueſt, implores the Favour of *Jupiter*: Æneid. 1 Book.

Jupiter, Hoſpitibus nam te dare jura loquuntur.

Pliny has tranſlated ξένιος, *hoſpitalis*, in the Account he gives of a Statue of *Jupiter* under that Denomination; this Statue was the Work of *Pamphilus*, a Diſciple of *Praxiteles*, and to be ſeen in the Collection of *Aſinius Pollio*. Plin. N. H. 36 B.

The ſame Word ſignifies Mercenaries a little lower, whence comes ξενιτέυεσθαι, μισθοφορεῖν, ξένοι δὲ οἱ μισθοφόροι. *Harpocration*.

Pay for three Months, in hope, by their aſſiſtance, to ſubdue his Adverſaries: *Cyrus* granted him four thouſand Men, and ſix Months Pay, deſiring him to come to no terms with his Adverſaries without [o] conſulting him: In this manner the Army in *Theſſaly* was alſo privately maintained for his Uſe. At the ſame time he ordered *Proxenus* the *Bœotian*, a Friend of his to attend him with all the Men he could raiſe, giving it out that he deſigned to make War upon the [p] *Piſidians*, who, it was ſaid, infeſted his Country. He then ordered *Sophænetus* the *Stymphalian*, and *Socrates* the *Achaian*, with whom alſo he had an Intercourſe of Hoſpitality, to come to him with as many Men as they could raiſe, pretending to make war upon *Tiſſaphernes*, in conjunction with the baniſhed *Mileſians*: Theſe too obeyed his Commands.

HAVING

[o] Συμβουλεύσηται. The difference between συμβουλεύεσθαι and συμβουλεύειν, appears very particularly from a Paſſage in *Herodotus* in *Polyhymnia*, συμβουλευομένῳ τε ἂν συμβουλεύσαι τὰ ἄριστα; where the former ſignifies to aſk Advice, and the latter to give it.

Herodot. *in* Polyhymnia.

[p] Πισίδας. The *Piſidians* inhabited the mountainous Part of *Aſia Minor*, which lies between the *Phrygians*, *Lydians*, and *Carians*, to whom they were very troubleſome Neighbours.

Strabo. 12 *Book.*

HAVING now determined to march into the *Upper Asia*, he pretended his Design was to drive the *Pisidians* entirely out of the Country: and, as against them, he assembles there both his *Barbarian* and *Greek* Forces; commanding at the same time *Clearchus* with all his Troops to attend him, and *Aristippus* to come to an Agreement with his Fellow-Citizens, and send his Army to him. He also appointed *Xenias* the *Arcadian*, who had the Command of the Mercenaries in the several Cities, to come to him with all his Men, leaving only sufficient Garrisons in the Citadels. He next ordered all the Troops that were employed in the Siege of *Miletus*, together with the banished Citizens, to join him[q], engaging to the last, if his Expedition was attended with success, not to lay down his Arms, 'till he had restored them. These chearfully obeyed him, (for they gave credit to what he said) and, taking their Arms with them, came to *Sardes*. *Xenias* also

[q] Ὑποσχόμενος αὐτοῖς, εἰ καλῶς καταπράξειεν ἐφ' ἃ ἐστρατεύετο, μὴ πρόσθεν παύσασθαι πρὶν, &c. This Sentence is thus translated by *d'Ablancourt*, *avec assurance de ne plus faire d'entreprise avant leur rétablissement*, which is so apparently foreign from the Author's Sense, that it is unnecessary to make any Observations upon it.

alſo came thither with the Garriſons he had drawn out of the Cities, conſiſting of four thouſand heavy-armed Men. *Proxenus* brought with him fifteen hundred heavy-armed and five hundred [r] light-armed Men. *Sophænetus* the *Stymphalian* a thouſand heavy-armed; *Socrates* the *Achaian* about five hundred heavy-armed: *Paſion* the *Magarean* ſeven hundred Men. Both he and *Socrates* were among thoſe who were employed in the Siege of *Miletus*. Theſe came to him to [s] *Sardes*. *Tiſſaphernes* obſerving all this, and looking upon theſe Preparations as greater than were neceſſary againſt the *Piſidians*, went [t] to the King with all the haſte he could, taking with him about five

[r] Γυμνήτας. Theſe are the ſame with ψιλοὶ, mentioned in the fifth Annotation.

[s] Σάρδεις. *Sardes* was the Capital of *Lydia*, and the Seat of its Kings: The firſt, *Cyrus* took after a Siege of fourteen Days, and in it *Craſus*, after he had reigned as many Years. It was afterwards ſet on fire by the *Ionians*, and with it the Temple of the Goddeſs *Cybebe*; which was the pretence afterwards made uſe of by *Xerxes* for burning the Temples of the *Greeks*.

Herodotus *in Clio*.

Herodotus *in* Terpſichore.

[t] Ὡς βασιλίᾳ. ὡς is frequently uſed by the *Attick* Writers for πρός, which poſſibly may be underſtood. In this Senſe it is employed in the firſt of thoſe two Verſes which *Pompey* repeated, when he put himſelf in the hands of *Ptolemy* King of *Egypt*.

Dion. Caſſius, 42 *B*.

Ὅστις γὰρ ὡς τύραννον ἐμπορεύεται
Κεῖνόν γε δοῦλον κ' ἂν ἐλεύθερον μολεῖν.

five hundred Horſe; and the King being informed by *Tiſſaphernes* of the intended [u] Expedition of *Cyrus*, prepared himſelf to oppoſe him.

CYRUS, with the Forces I have mentioned, marched from *Sardes*; and advancing through *Lydia*, in [w] three Days, made twenty two [x] Paraſangas, as far as

[u] Τὸν Κύρου στόλον. Στόλος καὶ τὸ πεζικὸν στράτευμα. *Suidas.* καὶ ἡ διὰ γῆς πορεία. *Phavorinus.* The Author firſt mentioned quotes a Paſſage out of *Arrian*, in which στόλος is taken in the ſame Senſe our Author uſes it in this place. Στοράκις μαθὼν τὸν στόλον βασιλέως ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐπικράτειαν γινόμενον, ἔφυγε.

[w] Σταθμοὺς τρεῖς. I have ſaid three Days march, in the ſame manner as the *Roman* Authors ſay, *tertiis Caſtris*, without any regard to the particular Diſtance from one place to another, but only to the Motion of the Army. In this I am confirmed by *Diodorus Siculus*, who, ſpeaking of the March of the *Greek* Army in their Retreat through the Country of the *Moſynœcians*, explains ὀκτὼ σταθμοὺς mentioned by our Author upon that occaſion, by ἐν ἡμέραις ὀκτω. Diod. Sic. 14 *B.*

[x] Παρασάγγας. Παρασάγγης, μέτρον ὁδοῦ τριάκοντα σταδίων ἔχον. *Heſychius.* *Herodotus* ſays the ſame thing. On the other hand, *Strabo* ſays, ſome make it ſixty, others thirty or forty Stadia; but this may in ſome degree be reconciled by the Etymological Lexicon, which explains it thus, παρασαγγαι, τριάκοντα στάδια παρὰ Πέρσαις, παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις δ' ἑξήκοντα; ſo that the Paraſanga was thirty Stadia among the *Perſians*, and ſixty among the *Egyptians*; but as the March of the *Greek* Army, deſcribed by our Author, lay through *Perſia*, there can be no doubt but he followed their Account. It may not be improper to obſerve that a Stadium contains one hundred ὀργυιαὶ or Fathoms, στάδιον ὀργυιαὶ ἑκατὸν, *Phavorinus*, that is, 600 Feet, ὀργυιὰ being, according to the ſame Author, Herodot. *in* Euterpe. Strabo, 11 *B.*

as the River *Mæander*: this River is two Plethra in breadth; and having a Bridge over it ſupported by ſeven Boats, he paſſed over, and advanced through *Phrygia*, making in one day's March eight Paraſangas, to *Coloſſea*, a large City, rich and well inhabited, where he ſtaid ſeven Days, when *Menon* the *Theſſalian* came to him with a thouſand heavy-armed Men, and five hundred Targeteers, conſiſting of *Dolopians*, *Ænians*, and *Olynthians*. From thence he made, in three Days march, twenty Paraſangas to *Celænæ*, a City of *Phrygia*, large, rich, and well

ἡ ἔκτασις τῶν χειρῶν σὺν τῷ πλάτει ϛάθος, that is, a Fathom. I know very well, that the *Greek* Foot contained ,0875 Decimals more than an *Engliſh* Foot, ſo that whoever has a mind to be exact, muſt compute according to that Fraction. As the Paraſanga, Stadium, and Plethrum are frequently mentioned in the Courſe of this Hiſtory, I thought it proper to explain them at firſt, that we may have done with them: The Plethrum has not yet been taken notice of; *Suidas* ſays, it contains one hundred Feet, ἔχει δὲ τὸ πλέθρον πόδας ρ'; or, as both he, and *Phavorinus*, affirm, together with the *Greek* Scholiaſt upon this Paſſage of *Homer*, where he ſpeaks of *Tityus*

Arbuthnot *of ancient meaſures.*

Odyſ. λ.

——— Ὁ δ' ὑπ' ἐννέα κεῖτο πέλεθρα,

Τὸ τῦ ϛαδίυ ἕκτον μέρ©·; The ſixth part of a Stadium, that is, one hundred Feet. As the *Latin* Tongue has no Word to expreſs πλέθρον in this Senſe, with accuracy, *jugerum* ſignifying a ſquare Meaſure (though I am ſenſible the Poets uſe it alſo for πλέθρον) the *Latin* Tranſlators have thought themſelves under a neceſſity of uſing the word *Plethrum*: I hope I ſhall alſo be allowed to uſe the words *Paraſanga*, *Stadium*, and *Plethrum*, after having explained them.

well inhabited: Here the Palace of *Cyrus* ſtood, with a large [y] Park full of wild Beaſts, which *Cyrus* hunted on Horſe-back, when he had a mind to exerciſe himſelf and his Horſes: Through the middle of this Park runs the River *Mæander*, but the Head of it riſes in the Palace; it runs alſo through the City of *Celænæ*. There is beſides a fortified Palace belonging to the [z]great King in *Celænæ*, at the head of the River *Marſyas*, under the Citadel. This River likewiſe runs through the City, and falls into the *Mæander*; the *Marſyas* is twenty-five Feet broad: Here *Apollo* is ſaid to have flayed *Marſyas*, whom contending with him

[y] Παράδεισος. This Word is, no doubt, of *Perſian* Original, and like many other *Perſian* Words, as *Julius Pollux* ſays, commonly uſed by the *Greeks*. Theſe Parks planted with ſtately Foreſt and Fruit-Trees of every kind, well watered, and ſtocked with plenty of wild Beaſts, were very deſervedly in great requeſt among the *Perſians*. *Plutarch* tells us, that *Tiſſaphernes*, to ſhew his Opinion of the Elegance of *Alcibiades*'s Taſte, gave this Name to that which belonged to him. The Eccleſiaſtical Writers after St. *Jerome*, have thought fit to tranſlate the Garden of *Eden* in *Moſes*, *Paradiſus voluptatis*; and the Septuagint ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ τρυφῆς, making *Eden* an appellative, though they oftener make it a proper Name. The *Engliſh* Tranſlation ſays, *the Garden of Eden*, which agrees with the *Hebrew*.

Jul. Pol. Onomaſt. *l.* 9. *c.* 3. *Segm.* 13. Plutarch *in* Alcibiades. Gen. ii. 15.

[z] Μεγάλου βασιλέως. This is the Title given by all the *Greek* Authors to the King of *Perſia*, which is preſerved to the Succeſſors of *Mahomet* in that of the Grand Seignor.

him [a] in Muſick, he had overcome, and to have hung up his Skin in the Cave, from whence the Springs flow: For this reaſon the River is called *Marſyas*. Here *Xerxes*, when he fled from *Greece* after his Defeat, is ſaid to have built both this Palace, and the Citadel of *Celænæ*. Here *Cyrus* ſtaid thirty Days, and hither *Clearchus* the baniſhed *Lacedæmonian* came with a thouſand heavy-armed Men, five hundred *Thracian* [b] Targeteers, and two hundred *Cretan* Archers. At the ſame time *Soſias* the *Syracuſan* came with a thouſand heavy-armed Men, and *Sophænetus* the *Arcadian* with a thouſand more. Here *Cyrus* reviewed the *Greeks* in the Park, and took an account of their Numbers; they amounted in the whole to eleven thouſand heavy-armed Men, and about two thouſand Targeteers.

FROM hence *Cyrus* made in two days march ten Paraſangas, and arrived at *Peltæ*, a City well inhabited: there he ſtaid

[a] Περὶ σοφίας. *Hutchinſon* has proved from ſeveral Authorities, that σοφια in this place ſignifies Skill in Muſick, rather than Wiſdom.

[b] Πελτασαί. Here πελτασαὶ ſeems to be taken in a comprehenſive Senſe, and to include all thoſe who were not heavy-armed Men.

ſtaid three Days, during which, *Xenias* the *Arcadian* ſolemnized the [c] *Lupercalian* Sacrifice, and celebrated a Game; the Prizes were golden [d] Scrapers; at this Game *Cyrus* was preſent. From thence he made in two marches twelve Paraſangas, and came to the Market of the *Cramians*, a City well inhabited, the laſt of the Country of *Myſia*. From thence he made in three days march thirty Paraſangas, and arrived at a well peopled City called [e] the *Plain of Caÿſtrus*, where he

[c] Τὰ Λύκαια. This was an *Arcadian* Sacrifice, inſtituted in honour of *Pan*, and brought by *Evander* into *Italy*, when he, with his Followers, ſettled upon the *Palatine Hill*. *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus*, from whom I have this, adds, that after the Sacrifice was over, the Prieſts ran through the Streets naked all but their Middle, which was covered with the Skins of the Victims newly ſacrificed; this Sacrifice, he ſays, continued to his time, which is confirmed by *Dion Caſſius* and *Plutarch*. *Virgil* has taken notice of this Circumſtance of the *Lupercalian* Prieſts running naked, among the other Points of Hiſtory, with which the Shield of *Æneas* is embelliſhed,

Dionyſius Hal. 1 *B.*

Dion Caſſius, 45 *B.* Plutarch *in* Antony

Virg. 8 *B.*

Hic exultantes Salios, nudoſque Lupercos,
Lanigeroſque apices, & lapſa ancilia cælo
Extuderat.

[d] Στλεγγίδες. In *Latin*, *ſtrigiles*. They were Inſtruments uſed in Bathing, both by the *Greeks* and *Romans*; with theſe they ſcraped their Bodies. *D'Ablancourt* has rendered it *des etrilles d'Or*: for which he makes an excuſe: The beſt I can make for the Word I have made uſe of is, that I know no other.

Phavorinus. Perſius 5 *Sat.*

[e] Καΰστρου πεδίον. *D'Ablancourt* ſuſpects this Paſſage to be corrupted: But *Hutchinſon* ſays, this Plain may very probably have given name to the City.

he ſtaid five Days. There was now due to the Soldiers above three Months Pay, which they, coming often to [f]his Door, demanded: He continued to give them Hopes, and was viſibly concerned; for he was not of a Temper to deny Money, when he had it. Hither *Epyaxa*, the Wife to *Syenneſis* King of the *Cilicians*, came to *Cyrus*; it was ſaid ſhe made him a Preſent of great Sums of Money. *Cyrus* therefore gave the Army four Months Pay at that time. The *Cilician* Queen had a Guard of *Cilicians* and *Aſpendians*; and *Cyrus* was reported to have an Amour with her.

FROM thence he made, in two days march, ten Parafangas, and came to the City of [g]*Thymbrium*, a Town well inhabited. Here was a Fountain near the Road,

[f] Ἰόντες ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας. The Cuſtom of attending at the Door of the Kings of *Perſia*, was introduced by the firſt *Cyrus*, as we find in the *Cyropædia*, ἔτω καὶ νῦν ἔτι ποιοῦσιν οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ασίαν ὑπὸ βασιλεῖ ὄντες· θεραπεύουσι τὰς τῶν ἀρχόντων θύρας. It was in uſe in the time of *Herodotus*, and *Xenophon*, and continued as long as the *Perſian* Empire. This Compliment was paid to the Satrapes as well as to the Kings. It is poſſible the Name of the Port given to the Court of the Grand Seignor was derived from hence, rather than from the great Gate leading to the Seraglio, as is generally thought.

8 *Book.* Herodot. *in* Thalia.

[g] Θύμβριον. A Town of *Phrygia*.

Road, called the Fountain of *Midas*, King of *Phrygia*, where *Midas* is ſaid to have [h] caught the Satyr, by mixing the Fountain with Wine. From thence he made, in two days march, ten Parafangas, and arrived at *Tyriæum*, a populous Town, where he ſtaid three Days. And here, it is ſaid, the *Cilician* Queen deſired *Cyrus* to ſhew her his Army; in compliance therefore with her Requeſt, *Cyrus* reviewed in the Plain, both his *Greek* and *Barbarian* Forces; ordering the *Greeks* to diſpoſe themſelves, according to their Cuſtom, and ſtand in Order of Battle, and that each of the Commanders ſhould draw up his own Men; ſo they were drawn up [i] four deep. *Menon* had the right with his People, and *Clearchus* the left with his Men; the reſt of the Generals being in the Center.

[h] Θηρεῦσαι. I have tranſlated this in the ſame manner as it our Author had laid, λαβεῖν, which is the Word made uſe of by *Maximus Tyrius* ſpeaking of this Adventure; λαβεῖν τὸν Σατυρον θηρασας οἴνῳ χρησας. For this reaſon I am of opinion, that *Satyrum venatus* is not ſo proper in *Leunclavius* and *Hutchinſon*. Diſſert. 30.

[i] Ἐπὶ τετταρων. This is what *Arrian* in his *Tactics* calls τὴν τάξιν ἐκτεῖναι ἐπὶ τετραρας. *Leunclavius* and *Hutchinſon* have ſaid, *in quaternos diſpoſuit*, which, I think, ſignifies rather that they were drawn up in Platoons of four Men each. *D'Ablancourt* is much clearer, *à quatre de hauteur*.

Center. First therefore *Cyrus* viewed the *Barbarians*, (they marched by him drawn up in Troops[k], and Companies) then the *Greeks*, *Cyrus* driving by them on a Car, and the *Cilician* Queen in a Chariot[l]. They had all brazen Helmets, scarlet Vests, Greaves, and burnished Shields. After he had [m] passed by them all, he stopped his Car in the Center of the Front, and sending *Pigres* his Interpreter to the *Greek* Generals, he ordered the whole Line [n] to present their Pikes, and advance in Order of Battle: These conveyed his Orders to the Soldiers; who, when

[k] Κατ' ἴλας, καὶ κατὰ τάξεις. Ἴλη in *Greek*, and *turma* in *Latin*, are proper to the Horse, as τάξις and *cohors* are to the Foot; though I know there are some Examples where the two last are applied to the Horse also; however in this place there can be no doubt but τάξεις signifies Companies of Foot.

Plutarch in Themistocles.

[l] Ἁρμαμάξης. *Plutarch* employs this Word for a close Carriage used by Women. *D'Ablancourt* has not distinguished it in his Translation from ἅμαξα.

[m] Ἐπεὶ πάντας παρήλασε. This is rendered by *D'Ablancourt*, *après les avoir contemplez*.

[n] Προβαλεσθαι τὰ ὅπλα. There is a Passage quoted by *Suidas* out of *Demosthenes* in his first *Philippic*, in which προβαλλεσθαι is used in the same Sense our Author uses it here, προβαλλεσθαι δὲ τὰς χεῖρας καὶ βλέπειν ἐναντίον ὅτε ἐδόκει, ὅτε ἰθ λει, where *Suidas* explains προβάλλεσθαι τὰς χεῖρας by προτεῖναι τὰς χεῖρας ὡς εἰς μάχην: So that προβαλλε τα ὅπλα will be the same with κάθες τὰ δόρατα, a Word of Command mentioned by *Arrian* in his *Tactics*. *D'Ablancourt* has, I think, said very properly *qu'ils fissent baisser les Piques*.

Arrian in his Tactics.

when the Trumpets founded, presented their Pikes and advanced; then marching [o] faster than ordinary with Shouts, ran of their own accord to the Tents; upon this, many of the *Barbarians* were seized with Fear, the *Cilician* Queen quitted her Chariot, and fled; and the Sutlers leaving their Commodities, ran away: The *Greeks*, not without laughter, repaired to their Tents. The *Cilician* Queen, seeing the Lustre and Order of their Army, was in admiration, and *Cyrus* pleased to see the Terror with which the *Greeks* had struck the *Barbarians*.

THENCE, in three days march, he made twenty Parasangas, and came to *Iconium*, the last City of *Phrygia*, where he staid three Days. Thence he made in five days march, thirty Parasangas through *Lycaonia*; which, being an Enemy's Country, he gave the *Greeks* leave to plunder it. From hence he sent the *Cilician* Queen into *Cilicia* the shortest way,

[o] Θᾶττον. I am sensible that θᾶττον is not always used in a comparative Sense; it sometimes, though rarely, signifies no more than ταχὺς, ταχεῖα, as *Hesychius* explains it; however it is generally used in the Sense I have given it by the *Attick* Writers. Θᾶττόν ἀστιμι, ταχὺν Ἕλλην. *Phavorinus.*

way, and appointed *Menon* the *Theſſalian* himſelf, with his Soldiers, to eſcort her. *Cyrus*, with the reſt of the Army, moved on through *Cappadocia*, and in four days march, made five and twenty Paraſangas to *Dana*, a large and rich City, well inhabited: Here he ſtaid three Days, during which, he put to death *Megabernes*, a *Perſian*, one of his Courtiers[p], with another Perſon who had a principal Command, accuſing them of Treachery. Thence they prepared to penetrate into *Cilicia*; the Entrance [q] was juſt broad enough

[p] Φοινικιστὴν βασιλέα. I have never met with the word φοινικιστὴς in any Author but *Xenophon*, or in any Lexicon ancient or modern, but *Hyſychius*, who quotes this paſſage without explaining it; ſo that the Readers and Tranſlators are left to ſhift for themſelves as well as they can. *Leunclavius* and *Hutchinſon* have ſaid, *Regium purpuræ Tinctorem*, which I can by no means approve of, ſince the King's Purple Dyer does neither ſeem to be a proper Perſon to attend *Cyrus* in a military Expedition, neither does he appear a proper Accomplice in a Deſign of this nature, with ſo conſiderable a Perſon as the other is repreſented *D'Ablancourt* has ſaid *Maiſtre de ſa garderobe*; this indeed anſwers the two Objections I made to the other Interpretation, but I am apt to believe, if *Xenophon* had deſigned to denote any particular Office, he would have made uſe of the Article, and have ſaid τὸν φοινικιστὴν βασιλέα. *H. Stephens* has employed a very claſſical Word *purpuratus*, which anſwers properly to φοινὶξ, whence φοινικιστὴς is derived; this is the Senſe I have given to the Word, though I am very far from being fond of it.

Arrian Alex *Exp.* 2 *Book.*

[q] Ἡ δὲ διοδος. This is the Paſs which *Arrian* calls τὰς πυλας τῶν Κιλικίας, which *Alexander* poſſeſſed himſelf of,

enough for a Chariot to paſs, very ſteep, and inacceſſible to an Army, if there had been any oppoſition; and *Syenneſis* was ſaid to have poſſeſſed himſelf of the Eminences, in order to guard the Paſs; for which reaſon, *Cyrus* ſtaid one Day in the Plain. The day after, News was brought by a Meſſenger that *Syenneſis* had quitted the Eminences upon Information that both *Menon*'s Army were in *Cilicia* within the Mountains, and alſo that *Tamos* was [r] ſailing round from *Ionia* to *Cilicia* with the Galleys, that belonged to the *Lacedæmonians*, and to *Cyrus*, who immediately marched up the Mountains without oppoſition, and [s] made himſelf maſter of the Tents, in which the *Cilicians* lay to oppoſe his Paſſage. From thence he deſcended into a

of, as he marched into *Cilicia* to engage *Darius*: The Day before, he encamped in the place, where we now find *Cyrus*, ἀφικόμενος, ſays *Arrian*, ἐπὶ τὸ Κύρου τοῦ ξὺν Ξενοφῶντι στρατόπεδον, where he left *Parmenion*, when he went himſelf to attack the Paſs. 2 *Book*.

[r] Περιπλεύσας. *Hutchinſon* very juſtly obſerves, that περιπλεῖν is properly uſed by *Xenophon* to deſcribe the Courſe a Ship muſt take from the Coaſt of *Ionia* to that of *Cilicia*: But this has not been preſerved either in his or *Leunclavius*' Tranſlation, any more than in that of *d'Ablancourt*.

[s] Εἶλε. I have followed the Conjecture of *Muretus*, who reads ἵλε inſtead of εἶδε, in which I am ſupported by *Hutchinſon*.

a large and beautiful Plain, well watered, and full of all ſorts of Trees and Vines; abounding in [t] Seſame, Panick, Millet, Wheat and Barley; and is ſurrounded with a ſtrong and high Ridge of Hills from Sea to Sea.

AFTER he had left the Mountains, he advanced through the Plain, and having made five and twenty Paraſangas in four days march, arrived at [u] *Tarſus*, a

[t] Σήσαμον. This Plant is common in the *Levant*, and is called by *Tournefort*, *Digitalis Orientalis*; the Seed of which they make an Oil, that is good to eat, and for ſeveral other uſes. Panick and Millet are ſo like to one another, that they are ſcarce to be diſtinguiſhed but by the manner in which they bring forth their Grain, the former bearing it in Ears, and the latter in Bunches; they both make very bad Bread, and are chiefly uſed to fat Fowls. *D'Ablancourt* has thought fit to render this Period by *remplie de toutes ſortes de fruits & de grains*; but his reaſon for it, is ſtill more curious than his Tranſlation; I was ſo much entertained with the Vivacity of it, that I cannot help tranſcribing his Words; *Je l'ay tranché*, ſays he, *en deux mots, pour ne pas venir à un detail ennuyeux.*

[u] Ταρσὸς. *Tarſus*, a conſiderable City of *Cilicia*, was built by *Sardanapalus*, who built both that and *Anchialus*, another City not far from it, in one day; which, though incredible to thoſe who do not conſider how many Millions of Men the *Aſſyrian* Kings had at their Command, is however atteſted by an *Aſſyrian* Inſcription, which *Arrian* has tranſlated: This Inſcription was, it ſeems, engraved on the Monument of this Prince, upon which ſtood his Statue, in the Attitude of a Perſon who expreſſes a Contempt, with his Hands clapped together, or, as *Strabo* ſays, I think, more probably, by ſeeming to ſnap his Fingers. The Senſe of this Inſcription is ſo very philo-

Arrian 2 *Book*, Exp. Alex.

Strabo, 14 *Book*.

a large and rich City of *Cilicia*, where ſtood the Palace of *Syenneſis* King of *Cilicia*; having the River [w] *Cydnus* runing through the middle of it, and is two hundred Feet in breadth. This City was [x] abandoned by the Inhabitants, who, with *Syenneſis*, fled to a Faſtneſs upon the Mountains, thoſe only excepted who kept the publick Houſes: But the Inhabitants of [y] *Soli* and *Iſſi*, who lived near

philoſophical, that I cannot omit it, though at the ſame time, the Phraſe is ſo very libertine, that I ſhall not tranſlate it. Σαρδαναπαλ῾ο ὁ Ανακυνδαραξυ παῖς, Αγχίαλον ϰὴ Ταρσὸν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ ἐδείματο. σὺ δὲ, ὦ ξένε, ἔσθιε, ϰὴ πίνε, ϰὴ παῖζε, ὡς τ' ἄλλα τὰ ἀνθρώπινα οὐϰ ὄντα τύτυ ἄξια: Plutarch, inſtead of παῖζε, others read ὄχενε, which *Arrian* ſays, is the Senſe of the *Aſſyrian* Word: and which *Plutarch*, ſpeaking of this Inſcription, has rendered by ἀφροδισίαζε. δῤῥυ. περὶ τυχης Αλεξάνδρου.

[w] Κυδνος. This River riſes out of Mount *Taurus*, and running through a clean Country, is remarkable for the Coldneſs and Clearneſs of its Stream; this tempted *Alexander* after a long and ſultry March to bathe in it, which had like to have put an end both to his Life and his Victories; but the Care of his Phyſician, or the Strength of his Conſtitution, ſoon recovered him, and once more let him looſe upon Mankind.

[x] Εξέλιπον, &c. I agree entirely with *Hutchinſon* againſt *Leunclavius* and *Stephens*, that there is no neceſſity of having recourſe to φυγόντες, or of any thing of that kind to perfect this Sentence. Theſe Apoſiopeſes are frequent in the *Attic* Writers.

[y] Σόλοις. This City was afterwards called *Pompeiopolis*. Strabo, lib. 4 *Book*. It was formerly a Colony of the *Athenians*, who forgetting, by length of time, their Mother-Tongue, or at leaſt the Grammar of it, ſpoke a barbarous Language, from whom the word *Solœciſm*, ſo dreadful in the Ears of School-Boys, took its Name. Euſtathius *upon* Dion. Periegetes.

near the Sea, did not quit their Habitations. *Epyaxa*, the Wife of *Syennesis*, came to *Tarsus* five Days before *Cyrus*. In the Passage over the Mountains into the Plain, two Companies of *Menon*'s Army were missing. It was said by some, that, while they were intent on plunder, they were cut off by the *Cilicians*, and by others, that being left behind, and unable to find the rest of the Army, or gain the Road, they wandered about the Country, and were destroyed : [z] The number of these amounted to one hundred heavy-armed Men. The rest, as soon as they arrived, resenting the loss of their Companions, plundered both the City of *Tarsus*, and the Palace that stood there. *Cyrus*, as soon as he entered the City, sent for *Syennesis*: but he, alledging that he had never yet put himself in the hands of any Person of superior Power, declined coming, 'till his Wife prevailed upon him, and received assurance from *Cyrus*: After that, when they met, *Syennesis* gave *Cyrus* great Sums of Money to pay his Army, and *Cyrus* made him such Presents, as are of great value

[z] Ἦσαν δὲ οἵτοι ἑκατὸν ὁπλῖται. By this Passage it seems that their Companies consisted of fifty Men each.

value among Kings; theſe were a Horſe with a golden Bit, a Chain, Bracelets, and a Scimitar of Gold, with a *Perſian* Robe, beſides [a] the Exemption of his Country from further plunder; to this he added the Reſtitution of the Priſoners they had taken, wherever they were found.

HERE *Cyrus* and the Army ſtaid twenty Days, the Soldiers declaring they would go no further; for they ſuſpected he was leading them againſt the King, and ſaid they were not raiſed for that Service. *Clearchus* was the firſt, who endeavoured to force his Men to go on; but as ſoon as he began to march, they threw Stones at him, and at his ſumpter Horſes, ſo that he narrowly eſcaped being then ſtoned to death. Afterwards, when he ſaw it was not in his power to prevail by force, he called his Men together, and firſt ſtood ſtill a conſiderable time, ſhedding many Tears, while the Soldiers beheld him in amaze and ſilence; then

[a] Καὶ τὴν χώραν μηκέτι, &c. This Period is celebrated by *Demetrius Phalareus* for the proper placing of this uncommon Gift, which, he ſays, if it had been placed either in the Beginning, or in the Middle, would have been diſagreeable, but is graceful at the Cloſe of it.

Demetrius Phalareus *of* Eloquence.

then ſpoke to them in the following manner:

" FELLOW-Soldiers! wonder not that " I am concerned at the preſent Poſture " of Affairs; for I am engaged to *Cyrus* " by the Rights of Hoſpitality, and when " I was baniſhed, among other Marks " of Diſtinction with which he honour- " ed me, he gave me ten thouſand Da- " ricks: After I had received this Money, " I did not treaſure it up for my own " uſe, or [b] laviſh it in Pleaſures, but laid " it out upon you: And firſt, I made " war upon the *Thracians*, and with " your Aſſiſtance, revenged the Injuries " they had done to *Greece*, by driving " them out of the *Cherſoneſus*, where they " were endeavouring to diſpoſſeſs the " *Greek* Inhabitants of their Lands. After " that, when I was ſummoned by *Cyrus*, " I

[b] Οὐδὲ καθηδυπάθησα. *Que je n'ay pas emploiez à mes plaiſirs*, in *d'Ablancourt*, does not, I think, come up to the Strength of the *Greek* Word; *nec per voluptatem & luxum abſumpſi* in *Hutchinſon* is far better. Sure this Word, which has great Energy, was never more properly employed than by *Plutarch* to *Mark Antony*'s laviſhing the moſt precious thing he could throw away, his Time, in the Arms of *Cleopatra*, καθηδυπαθεῖν τὸ πολυτελέστατον ἀνάλωμα, τὸν χρόνον, where by, the way, *Plutarch* has taken that fine Application of πολυτελὲς ἀνάλωμα to Time, from *Theophraſtus*.

Plutarch *in* Antony. Diogenes Laërtius. *Life of* Theophraſtus.

" I carried you to him with this view,
" that, if there were occaſion, I might in
" return for his [c] Favours, be of Service
" to him: but, ſince you refuſe to go on
" with me, and I am under a neceſſity
" either, by betraying you, to rely on
" the Friendſhip of *Cyrus*, or, by being
" falſe to him, to adhere to you; though
" I am in doubt whether I ſhall do
" right or not; however, I have deter-
" mined to give you the [d] preference, and
" with you to ſuffer every thing that
" may happen: Neither ſhall any one
" ſay, that, having led *Greeks* among
" *Barbarians*, I betrayed the *Grecks*, and
" preferred the Friendſhip of the *Bar-*
" *barians*; but, ſince you refuſe to obey
" me, and to follow me, I will follow
" you, and ſhare in all your Sufferings;
" for I look upon you as my Country,
" my Friends, and Fellow-Soldiers, and
" that with you I ſhall live in honour
" wherever I am, but without you, that
" I

[c] Ὠφελοίην αὐτόν. *Leunclavius* and *Hutchinſon* have ſaid *ut ei commodarem*, which is not only the Senſe, but elegantly expreſſes *ut ei commodo eſſem*; *Tully* uſes the Word in the ſame Senſe in his Epiſtles. *D'Ablancourt* has ſaid, *pour payer ſes faveurs de quelque ſervice*, which I think, at leaſt, equal to the other. Cic. Epiſ. 13. 35.

[d] Λιρήσομαι δ' ὧν ὑμᾶς. αἱρῶμαι, προκρίνω. *Plavorinus.*

" I ſhall neither be uſeful to my Friends,
" or formidable to my Enemies: Be
" aſſured therefore, that whither ſoever
" you go, I reſolve to go with you."
Thus ſpoke *Clearchus*: The Soldiers, both thoſe who belonged to him and the reſt of the Army, hearing this, commended him for declaring he would not march againſt the King; and above two thouſand left *Xenias* and *Paſion*, and taking their Arms and [c] Baggage with them, came and encamped with *Clearchus*.

THESE things gave *Cyrus* great Perplexity and Uneaſineſs: ſo he ſent for *Clearchus*, who refuſed to go, but diſpatched a Meſſenger to him, unknown to the Soldiers, with Encouragement, that this Affair would take a favourable Turn: he adviſed *Cyrus* to ſend for him, but at the ſame time let him know that he did not deſign to go to him. After this, aſſembling his own Soldiers, with thoſe who were lately come to him, and as many of the reſt as deſired to be preſent, he ſpoke to them as follows:

" FELLOW-

[c] Σκευοφόρα. The Paſſage quoted by *Hutchinſon* out of *Herodian*, which is alſo quoted by *Conſtantin* in his Lexicon, plainly ſhews, that σκευοφόρα ſignifies both the Carriages and the Beaſts of Burden.

" FELLOW-Soldiers! it is certain the " Affairs of *Cyrus* are in the ſame Situa- " tion in reſpect to us, with ours in re- " gard to him; for neither are we any " longer his Soldiers, ſince we refuſe to " follow him, neither does he any longer " give us Pay. I know, he thinks him- " ſelf unjuſtly treated by us; ſo that, " when he ſends for me, I refuſe to go to " him, chiefly through Shame, becauſe I " am conſcious to myſelf of having " deceived him in every thing; in the " next place, through Fear, leſt he ſhould " cauſe me to be apprehended and pu- " niſhed for the Wrongs he thinks I " have done him. I am therefore of " opinion, that this is no time for us to " ſleep, or to neglect the Care of our " ſelves, but to conſult what is to be " done. If we ſtay, we are to conſider " by what means we may ſtay with the " greateſt Security; and if we reſolve to " go away, how we may go with the " greateſt Safety, and ſupply ourſelves " with Proviſions; for without theſe, " neither a Commander, or a private " Man, can be of any uſe. *Cyrus* is a " very valuable Friend, where he is a

" Friend, but the ſevereſt Enemy, where " he is an Enemy. He is alſo Maſter " of that Strength in Foot, Horſe, and " at Sea, which we all both ſee and are " acquainted with, for truly we do not " ſeem to be encamped at a great diſtance " from him; ſo that this is the time for " for every one to adviſe what he judges " beſt:" Here he ſtopped.

UPON this ſome roſe up of their own accord to give their Opinions; others, by his Direction, to ſhew the Difficulties either of ſtaying or going without the Approbation of *Cyrus*: One, pretending to be in haſte by returning to *Greece*, ſaid, that, if *Clearchus* refuſed to conduct them thither, they ought immediately to chuſe other Generals, to buy Proviſions (there being a Market in the *Barbarians* Camp) and pack up their Baggage: then go to *Cyrus* and demand Ships of him to tranſport them; which if he refuſed, to deſire a Commander to conduct them, as through a Friend's Country; and, if this alſo be refuſed, continued he, we ought forthwith to draw up a declaration of Battle, and ſend a Detachment to ſecure the

the Eminences, that neither *Cyrus*, nor the *Cilicians*, (many of whom we have taken Priſoners, and whoſe [f] Effects we have plundered, and ſtill poſſeſs,) may prevent us: after him *Clearchus* ſpoke to this effect:

" LET none of you propoſe me to be General in this Expedition, (for I ſee many things that forbid it) but conſider me as one reſolved to obey, as far as poſſible, the Perſon you ſhall chuſe, that you may be convinced I alſo know as well as any other, how to ſubmit to Com-

[f] Χρήματα. This Word in this and in many other places in *Xenophon*, as well as in other good Authors, ſignifies Effects rather than Money: In this Senſe it is explained by *Heſychius*, χρηματα, οἷς τις δύναται χρῆσθαι. κτήματα, βοσκήματα: This explains a Paſſage in *Homer*, where *Eurymachus*, one of the Suitors, tells *Halitherſes*, that, if *Penelope* continues to amuſe them,

Χρήματα δ' αὖτε κακῶς βεβρώσεται. Odyſ. β.

Hutchinſon has rendered χρήματα here *bona*, and *Leunclavius*, *opes*, the latter not ſo properly. *D'Ablancourt* has ſaid *ceux du païs qu'on avoit pillez*, which, in my opinion, is too general, becauſe it is applicable both to their Money and Effects; on the other ſide it is not applicable to the ſeizing their Perſons; for I dare ſay thoſe who are Criticks in the *French* Language will own, that *piller quelqu'un* does not ſignify to ſeize a Man's Perſon.

Command." After him another got up, ſhewing the Folly of the Man who adviſed to demand the Ships, as if *Cyrus* would not reſume his Expedition; he ſhewed alſo how weak a thing it was to apply for a Guide to that Perſon whoſe Undertaking we had defeated. "If, ſays he, we can place any Confidence in a Guide appointed by him, what hinders us from deſiring *Cyrus* himſelf to ſecure thoſe Eminences for us? I own I ſhould be unwilling to go on board the Tranſports he may give us, leſt he ſhould ſink the [g] Ships; I ſhould alſo be afraid to follow the Guide he may appoint, leſt he ſhould lead us into ſome place, out of which we could not diſengage ourſelves; and ſince it is propoſed we ſhould go away without the conſent of *Cyrus*, I wiſh we could alſo go without his Knowledge, which is impoſſible. Theſe then are vain Thoughts; I am there-

[g] Αυταῖς ταῖς τριήρεσι καταδύσῃ. This Ellipſis is very frequent in *Thucydides* and *Homer*; the latter ſpeaking of the Waſte made by the wild Boar on the Lands of *Oeneus*, ſays, in the ſame Figure,

Il. 1. Πολλὰ δ' ὅγε προθέλυμνα χαμαὶ βάλε δένδρεα μακρὰ
Λυτῇσιν ῥίζῃσι, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἄνθεσι μήλων.

therefore of opinion that proper Perſons, together with *Clearchus*, ſhould go to *Cyrus*, and aſk him in what Service he propoſes to employ us; and to acquaint him, that, if the preſent Undertaking be of the ſame nature with that in which he before made uſe of foreign Troops, we will follow him, and behave ourſelves with equal bravery to thoſe who [h] attended him upon that occaſion; but if this Enterprize appears to be of greater Moment than the former, and to be attend with greater Labour and [i] Danger, that we deſire he will either prevail on us by Perſuaſion to follow him, or ſuffer himſelf to be prevailed upon to allow us to return home. By this means, if we follow him, we ſhall follow him, as Friends, with Chearfulneſs, and if we return, we ſhall return with Safety: And let them report to us what he ſays, which

[h] Συναναβαντων. This relates to the three hundred *Greeks*, who, as our Author tells us, attended *Cyrus* to Court under the Command of Ξενιας of *Parrhaſia*.

[i] Επιπονωτέρα καὶ ἐπικινδυνωτέρα. Theſe are the proper Characters that diſtinguiſh this Expedition from the former; however, *d'Ablancourt* has not taken the leaſt notice of it in his Tranſlation.

which we may then conſider of." This was reſolved.

HAVING choſen the Perſons therefore, they ſent them with *Clearchus*, who aſked *Cyrus* the Queſtions appointed by the Army; to which he made this anſwer: "I am informed, that *Abrocomas*, my Enemy, lies near the *Euphrates*, at the diſtance of twelve days march; therefore, my Intention is, if I find him there, to puniſh, by leading my Army againſt him; but if he flies from the place, I will there conſider what we are to do." This coming to the ears of thoſe who were appointed to attend *Cyrus*, made their Report to the Soldiers, who ſuſpected his Deſign was to lead them againſt the King; yet they reſolved to follow him; and when they demanded an Encreaſe of Pay, he promiſed to give them half as much more as they had already; that is, inſtead of one *Darick*, a *Darick* and a half every Month to each Man. But it was not even then known that he intended to lead them againſt the King, at leaſt, it was not public.

HENCE,

HENCE, he made in two days march ten Parasangas, to the River *Pharus*, which was three hundred Feet broad, From thence to the River *Pyramus*, which is one Stadium in breadth, making in one march five Parasangas; from which place, he made, in two days march, fifteen Parasangas, and arrived at *Issus* [k], the last Town of *Cilicia*, situated near the Sea; a large City, rich, and well inhabited, where he staid three days, during which time, five and thirty ships, with *Pythagoras*, a *Lacedæmonian*, (the Admiral) at the head, sailed from *Peloponnesus*, and came to *Cyrus*, being conducted from *Ephesus* by *Tamos*, an *Egyptian*, who carried with him five and twenty other Ships belonging to *Cyrus*, with which he had besieged *Miletus*, because that City was in friendship with *Tissaphernes*, against whom, *Tamos* made war in conjunction with *Cyrus*. With these

[k] Ισσός. Hard by stands a Town now called *Scanderoon*, a Place very well known to our *Turkey* Merchants, built by *Alexander* in memory of the great Victory he obtained there over *Darius*, whose Mother, Wife, and Children, were taken Prisoners in the Action. The Bay called by *Strabo* κόλπος Ισσικὸς, took its Name from this Town, and is now called the *Bay of Scanderoon*. Strabo, 14 *B.*

theſe Ships alſo came *Cheiriſophus*, the *Lacedæmonian*, whom *Cyrus* had ſent for, with ſeven hundred heavy-armed Men, which he commanded under *Cyrus*, before whoſe Tent the Ships lay [l] at Anchor. Hither alſo four hundred heavy-armed *Greeks* came to *Cyrus*, (leaving *Abrocomas*, in whoſe Service they were,) and marched with him againſt the King.

HENCE *Cyrus* made in one march five Paraſangas to the [m] Gates of *Cilicia*

[l] Αἱ δὲ νῆες ὥρμουν, &c. I will not ſay that ὁρμεῖ is never uſed to ſignify a Ship that comes to Land, but I am ſure it is generally applied to a Ship that lies at Anchor, and that ὁρμίζω is almoſt univerſally the Word made uſe of to expreſs the former; the difference between the two Words is particularly ſet forth by *Phavorinus*, ὁρμέω, ſays he, ἐν τῷ λιμένι ἵσαμαι, ὁρμίζω δὲ τὸ εἰς τὸν λιμένα εἰσάγομαι: I will not therefore abſolutely ſay that the *French* and *Latin* Tranſlators have miſtaken this Paſſage, but wiſh the former, inſtead of ſaying *elles vinrent mouïller l'ancre*, had ſaid *elles étoient à l'ancre prés de la Tente de Cyrus*; and that the latter, inſtead of ſaying *naves propter Cyri Tentorium adpulerant:* had ſaid, *in anchoris ſtabant.*

Plin N H 5 *B. c.* 22. Cicero, 15 *B.* 4 *Epiſt.* Plin. *ib.*

[m] Ἐπὶ πύλας τῆς Κιλικίας καὶ τῆς Συρίας. There are two Paſſes upon the Mountains that divide *Cilicia* from *Syria*, as we find in *Pliny*, and *Tully*'s Epiſtles, where the latter gives the Reaſons why he led the Army, which he commanded as Proconſul, into *Cappadocia* rather than into *Cilicia: duo enim ſunt aditus in Ciliciam ex Syria*, one of theſe is called πύλαι Ἀμανικαὶ, by *Pliny portæ Amani montis*,

cia and *Syria*: Theſe were two Fortreſſes, of which the inner next *Cilicia* was poſſeſſed by *Syenneſis* with a Guard of *Cilicians*, and the outer next to *Syria*, was ſaid to be defended by the King's Troops: Between theſe two Fortreſſes runs a River called *Kerſus*, one hundred Feet in breadth: The Interval between them was three Stadia in the whole, through which it was not poſſible to force a way; the Paſs being narrow, the For-

montis, and the other ſimply πύλαι, or, as the laſt mentioned Author calls them *portæ Ciliciæ*; the former are to the Eaſtward of the latter, which, as we find in this Account of *Xenophon*, lie cloſe to the Sea. There is a doubt which of theſe is meant by our Author; but this will be clearly rectified, if we look into *Arrian*, where we ſhall find *Alexander* to have taken the ſame Rout with *Cyrus* for a great way, and to have often encamped in the ſame places: After that Prince had paſſed theſe πυλαὶ mentioned by *Xenophon*, and while he lay with his Army at *Myriandros*, the ſame place where *Cyrus* encamped after he had paſſed them, he received advice that *Darius* had left his Camp at *Sochi*, within two days march of the πύλαι, and having paſſed the mountains at the πύλαι Αμανικαὶ, or the eaſtern Paſs, was got behind him and marching to *Iſſus*. *Alexander* was pleaſed to find his Enemy had abandoned the Advantage of a champaign Country, and ſhut up his numerous Army, the chief Strength of which, conſiſted in Horſe, between the Mountains and the Sea, and, marching back, poſſeſſed himſelf again of the πύλαι that Night; the next Day he engaged *Darius*, and the Ground between this Paſs and *Iſſus* was the Scene of that memorable Victory: This happened in the 4th Year of the 111th Olympiad, 68 Years after *Cyrus* marched through *Cilicia*.

Arrian, 2 *Book*. *Exp*. Alex.

Diod. Sic. 17 *B*.

Fortreſſes reaching down to the Sea, and above were inacceſſible [n] Rocks. In both theſe Fortreſſes ſtood the Gates. In order to gain this Paſs, *Cyrus* ſent for his Ships, that, by landing his heavy-armed Men both within, and without the Gates, they might force their Paſſage through the *Syrian* Gates, if defended by the Enemy; which he expected *Abrocomas*, who was at the Head of a great Army, would attempt: However, *Abrocomas* did not do this, but, as ſoon as he heard *Cyrus* was in *Cilicia*, he ſuddenly left *Phœnicia*, and went back to the King, with an Army, conſiſting, as it was ſaid, of three hundred thouſand Men.

HEREUPON, *Cyrus* proceeded through *Syria*, and in one march, made five Paraſangas

[n] Πέτραι ἠλίβατοι. This Expreſſion is very poetical, and often made uſe of by *Homer*, whoſe Scholiaſt explains it in this manner, ἧς ὁ ἥλιος μόνος ἐπιβαίνει, a Rock inacceſſible to every thing but to the Rays of the Sun. When *Patroclus* reproaches *Achilles* with his Cruelty by ſuffering the *Greeks* to be ſlain in ſuch numbers for want of his Aſſiſtance, he tells him,

Homer Il. π.

—— οὐκ ἄρα σόι γε πατὴρ ἵππότα Πηλεὺς,
Οὐδὲ Θέτις μήτηρ· γλαυκὴ δέ σε τίκτε θάλασσα
Πέτραι τ' ἠλίβατοι, ὅτι τοὶ νόος ἐστὶν ἀπηνης.

rafangas to *Myriandrus*, a City near the Sea, inhabited by the *Phœnicians*, [o] which being a Mart-Town, where many Merchant Ships lay at Anchor, they continued ſeven days; during which, *Xenias* the *Arcadian* General, and *Paſion* the *Megarean*, took Ship, and putting their moſt valuable Effects on board, ſailed away. It was the general Opinion, that this was owing to their Reſentment againſt *Clearchus*, whom *Cyrus* had ſuffered to retain the Troops that left them, and put themſelves under his Command with a view of returning to *Greece*, and not of marching againſt the King. As ſoon therefore as they diſappeared, a Rumour was ſpread that *Cyrus* would follow them with his Galleys: Some wiſhed that, having acted perfidiouſly, they might be taken: others [p] pitied them, if they ſhould fall into his hands.

Cyrus

[o] Εμπόριον δ' ἦν τὸ χωρίον, καὶ ὥρμων αὐτόθι ὁλκάδες πολλαί. Here *Hutchinſon* has tranſlated ὥρμων in the manner I have contended for in note [1], pag. 40. *Leunclavius* has ſtill adhered to *adpulerant*. *D'Ablancourt* has left out the whole Period in his Tranſlation. ὁλκὰς, παρὰ Θυκυδίδῃ, ἡ ἐμπορικὴ ναῦς. *Suidas*.

[p] Οἱ δ' ὤκτειρον εἰ ἁλώσοιντο I own, I cannot, with the *Latin* Tranſlators, ſee the neceſſity of ſupplying this

Cyrus immediately aſſembled together the General Officers, and ſpoke thus to them: "*Xenias* and *Paſion* have left us, but let them be aſſured that they are not [q]gone away ſo as to be concealed, (for I know whither they are going) neither are they eſcaped, (for my Galleys can

Sentence with any Word in order to compleat it; I think the Expreſſion elegant, the Senſe plain, and the eventual Commiſeration fully pointed out by the conditional Particle ἐι.

[q] Ἀποδεδράκασιν. *Ammonius* and *Phavorinus* are quoted upon this occaſion by *Hutchinſon*, to ſhew the difference between ἀποδράναι and ἀποφεύγειν, the firſt, ſay they, ſignifies τὸ ἀναχωρήσαντά τινα ἔυδηλον εἶναι ὅπυ ἔςι, the other τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι ἐπιληφθῆναι, and, to ſupport this, the Paſſage now before us in *Xenophon* is cited by *Ammonius*. Now I own, that, notwithſtanding the very great deference, which I have, and which every one ought to have for thoſe two Grammarians, and the Perſon who quotes them, yet I cannot help thinking that the very Paſſage they quote, deſtroys the difference they have eſtabliſhed; for, if ἀποδράναι ſignifies, as they ſay, to retire in ſuch a manner that the Place of Retreat is known, ἀποδιδράκασι here muſt ſignify the reverſe, for *Cyrus* tells the *Greeks* that they have *not* retired to a Place unknown to him, οὐδε ἀποδιδράκασι, becauſe he ſays he knows whither they are going: *Hutchinſon* himſelf confirms what I ſay by his Tranſlation, even againſt his own Quotation, for he ſays, *nec clam ſe aufugiſſe*; whereas if the Obſervation of the Authors he quotes, is juſt, and that ἀποδράναι ſignifies ἀναχωρήσαντά τινα ἔυδηλον εἶναι, he ſhould have tranſlated it *nec palam ſe aufugiſſe*. I wiſh, I do not ſay for the Advantage of the Senſe, but for the Eaſe of the Tranſlator, that *Xenophon* had ſaid ἀποδιδράκασι μὲν, οὐκ ἀποπεφύγασι δὲ, I ſhould then have tranſlated it, they are fled, but not eſcaped.

can come up with their Ship.) But I [r] call the Gods to witneſs that I do not intend to purſue them, neither ſhall any one ſay, that, while People are with me, I uſe their Service; but that, when they deſire to leave me, I ſeize them, treat them ill, and rob them of their Fortunes. [s] Let them go therefore, and remember, they have behaved themſelves worſe to me, than I to them. Their Wives and Children are under a Guard at *Tralles*, however not even theſe ſhall they be deprived of, but ſhall receive them

[r] Μὰ τὰς Θεάς. Μὰ is a negative Aſſeveration, and ναὶ an affirmative one.

[s] Ἰόντων. The Uſe of the genitive Caſe plural of the Participle, is very common with the *Attick* Writers, inſtead of the third Perſon plural of the imperative Mood in the ſame Tenſe, unleſs ἔστωσαν, according to the Opinion of ſome Criticks, is upon thoſe occaſions to be underſtood. *Diogenes Laërtius* gives a remarkable Inſtance of ſomething like this; it relates to the Trial of *Socrates*, where *Plato* offering to ſpeak to the Judges in defence of his Maſter, began his Speech in this manner: Νεώτατός ὢν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἀναβάντων, upon which the Judges interrupted him by calling out καταβᾶ τῶν, for καταβηθι, and made him come down. But the *Attick* Authors are not ſingular in the uſe of this Phraſe: *Homer* ſays Diogenes Laërtius *Life of* Socrates.

——— κήρυκες μὲν Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων
Λαὸν κηρύσσοντες ἀγειρόντων κατὰ νῆας. Homer Il. β.

for ἀγειρέτωσαν. This Atticiſm is often made uſe of by the beſt Authors.

them in return for the gallant Behaviour they have formerly ſhewn in my Service." The *Greeks*, if any before ſhewed a backwardneſs to the Enterprize, ſeeing this Inſtance of *Cyrus*'s Virtue, followed him with greater Pleaſure and Chearfulneſs.

AFTER this, *Cyrus* in four days march made twenty Paraſangas, and came to the River *Clalus*, which is one hundred Feet broad, and full [t] of large tame

[t] Πλήρη δ' ἰχθύων μεγάλων, &c. *Lucian* in his Treatiſe of the *Syrian* Goddeſs, has a Paſſage that will explain this of *Xenophon*; he ſays, the *Syrians* looked upon Fiſh as a ſacred thing, and never touched them; and that they eat all Birds but Pigeons, which they eſteemed holy: he adds, theſe Superſtitions were owing to their reſpect for *Derceto* and *Semiramis*, the firſt of whom had the Shape of a Fiſh, and the other was changed into a Pigeon. That Author has affected to write this Treatiſe in the *Ionick* Stile, his Words are theſe: ἰχθύας, χρῆμα ἱρὸν νομίζουσι καὶ ἤκοτε ἰχθυων ψαυουσι. καὶ ὄρνιθας τὰς μὲν ἄλλας σιτέονται, περιστερὴν δὲ μούνην ἢ σιτέονται, ἀλλὰ σφίσι ἥδε ἱρή. τὰ δὲ γιγνόμενα δοκέει αὐτοῖς ποιέεσθαι Δερκετῦς, καὶ Σεμιράμιος εἵνεκα· τὸ μὲν, ὅτι Δερκετὼ μορφὴν ἰχθύος ἔχει· τὸ δὲ, ὅτι τὸ Σεμιράμιος τέλος ἐς περιστερὴν ἀπίκετο. This Tradition is ſomewhat varied by *Diodorus Siculus*, who ſays, that *Derceto* being brought to bed of *Semiramis*, threw herſelf into a Lake, and was changed into a Fiſh, for which reaſon, he ſays, the *Syrians* worſhipped Fiſh as Gods. The ſame Author adds, that *Semiramis*, when a Child, was fed by Pigeons, 'till a Perſon who had the Super-intendency over the King's Herds, took her home to his own Houſe, and called her *Semiramis*, a Name derived,

Lucian *of the* Syrian *Goddeſs.*

Diod. Sic. 2 *B.*

tame Fiſh, which the *Syrians* look upon as Gods, and do not ſuffer them to be hurt any more than Pigeons. The Villages in which they encamped belonged to *Paryſatis*, and were given to her for her Table [u]. Thirty Paraſangas more

rived, as he ſays, from Pigeons in the *Syrian* Language: and that this was the occaſion of the Worſhip the *Syrians* paid to Pigeons. It may not be improper to acquaint the Reader, that the Goddeſs called *Derceto* by the *Greeks*, and *Atargatis* by the *Syrians*, was looked upon by the laſt as the Mother of *Semiramis*, and worſhipped as a Goddeſs in *Bambyce*, by them, called *Magog*. *Lucian* ſays, ſhe was repreſented in *Phœnicia* as a Woman to the Waiſt, and from thence as a Fiſh; which made *Selden* of opinion, that *Derceto* and *Dagon*, who was alſo repreſented in the ſame manner, were the ſame Divinity, though it is certain that *Dagon* was looked upon as a God, and *Derceto* as a Goddeſs. Had *d'Ablancourt* conſidered theſe Matters, he would not have been ſo haſty in condemning *Xenophon* of too great Credulity, neither would he have thought himſelf under any Obligation of ſoftening, as he calls it, theſe Facts, for fear of corrupting the Truth of Hiſtory: Particularly ſince *Diodorus Siculus* alſo ſays, the fabulous Tradition of *Derceto* being changed into a a Fiſh prevailed ſo far, that the *Syrians*, even in his time, abſtained from Fiſh, and honoured them as Gods.

Plin. Nat. Hiſt. 5 *B.* *c.* 23.

Selden de Diis Syris *Synt.* 2. *c.* 3.

Diod. Sic. 2 *B.*

[u] Εἰς ζωὴν διδόμεναι, &c. *Hutchinſon* has departed from the Text, and without the Authority of any Manuſcript, has followed *Muretus* and *Jungermannus* in reading ζωὴν inſtead of ζωήν. Indeed the Paſſage he has ſupported this Correction with, out of *Tully*, *Plato*, and *Herodotus*, ſhew plainly, that the Kings of *Perſia* uſed to give ſome particular Cities to their Queens to find them in Girdles, others to find them in Necklaces, and others in Shoes; ſo that it cannot be denied but εἰς ζώνην is here very proper; but it is as certain from thoſe Authors he has quoted, and indeed from every Author, who has treated of the Affairs of *Perſia*, that the *Perſian* Kings alſo aſſigned particular

Cicero *in* Verrem, 3 *B.* *c.* 23. Plato *in* Alcib. 1 *p.* 123. C. Nepos *Life of* Themiſtocles.

more, in five days march, brought him to the ſource of the River *Daradax*, the breadth of which was one hundred Feet, having near it the palace of *Beleſis*, who was formerly governor of *Syria*, with a very large and beautiful Park producing every thing proper to the Seaſon: *Cyrus* laid waſte the Park, and burned the Palace. From thence in three days march he made fifteen Paraſangas, and came to the River *Euphrates*, which is four Stadia in breadth; where, being the large and flouriſhing City of [w] *Thapſacus*, they remained five days; during which, *Cyrus*, ſending for the Generals of the *Greeks*, told them that he propoſed marching to *Babylon* againſt the great King, and ordered them to acquaint the Soldiers with it, and to perſuade them to

Athenæus *δειπν.* 1 *B. c.* 23. Plutarch *in* Themiſtocles.

ticular Cities to thoſe whom they had a mind to honour, to find them in Bread, others to find them in Wine, and others in Meat, or, as ſome will have it, in Fiſh. In this manner *Artaxerxes* Μακρόχειρ, diſtinguiſhed *Themiſtocles*, εἰς ἄρτον καὶ οἶνον καὶ ὄψα, as *Plutarch* and *Thucydides* ſay; ſo that it is not at all improbable the Villages our Author here ſpeaks of, might be aſſigned to *Paryſatis* to ſupply her Table; but if the Reader prefers ζωνην, it muſt then be tranſlated, that theſe Villages were given to *Paryſatis* to find her in Girdles.

Arrian 2 *Book. Exp.* Alex.

[w] Θάψακον. Here *Darius* paſſed the *Euphrates* with the broken Remains of his Army, after his Defeat at *Iſſus*.

to follow him. Hereupon, they called them together, and informed them of it; but the Soldiers were angry with their Generals, saying they knew this before, but concealed it from them; therefore refused to march, unless they had Money given them, as the other Soldiers had, who before attended *Cyrus* to his Father, and that not to fight, but only to wait upon him, when his Father sent for him. The Generals immediately gave an account of this to *Cyrus*, who promised to give every Man five [x] Mines of Silver, as soon as they came to *Babylon*, and their full Pay, 'till he brought them back to *Ionia*; by which means great part of the *Greeks* were prevailed upon: but *Menon*, before it appeared whether the rest of the Soldiers would follow *Cyrus*, or not, called his own Men together apart, and spoke thus to them:

"FELLOW-Soldiers! if you will follow my Advice, you shall, without either Danger, or Labour, be in greater esteem with *Cyrus*, than the rest of the Army. What

[x] Πέντε Αργυρίου μνᾶς. See note [m], page 9.

What then do I advise? *Cyrus* is this minute entreating the *Greeks* to follow him againſt the King: I ſay, therefore, we ought to paſs the *Euphrates*, before it appears what Anſwer the reſt of the *Greeks* will make to him; for, if they determine to follow him, you will be looked upon as the Cauſe of it by firſt paſſing the River, and *Cyrus* will not only think himſelf under an Obligation to you, as to thoſe who are the moſt zealous for his Service, but will return it, (which no Man better underſtands;) but if the reſt determine otherwiſe, we will [y] then all return: As you only are obedient to his Orders, he will look upon you as perſons of the greateſt Fidelity, and as ſuch employ you in the Command both of Garriſons and of Companies; and I am confident you will find *Cyrus* your Friend [z] in whatever elſe you

[y] Ἀπιμεν. *Hutchinſon* has obſerved from *Stephens*, that εἶμι is remarkable among thoſe Verbs which the *Attick* Writers uſe in the preſent Tenſe, inſtead of the future.

[z] Ὡς φιλον. I agree with *Hutchinſon* that this is an Ellipſis, and that ὑπὸ, or ſomething like it, is to be underſtood; without condemning ὑπὸ, I ſhould like παρὰ full as well; thus *Telemachus* tells *Menelaus* in the ſame Phraſe,

Homer Odyſſ. O. ---- παντὰς ἐπὶ σεῖο τ' ἐχὼ φιλοτητ@· ἀπάσης

you desire of him." The Soldiers, hearing this, followed his Advice, and passed the *Euphrates*, before the rest had returned an Answer: When *Cyrus* heard they had passed the River, he was pleased, and sending *Glus* to them, ordered him to say to them in his Name; "*Soldiers! I praise you for what you have done, and will take care that you also shall have reason to praise me; if I do not, think me no longer Cyrus.*" Hereupon, the Soldiers conceiving great hopes, prayed for his Success; after which, [having, as it was reported, sent magnificent Presents to *Menon*] he, at the head of his Army, passed the River, the Water not reaching above their Breasts, notwithstanding the Inhabitants of *Thapsacus* declared, that the River was never fordable before, or passable but in Boats, which *Abrocomas* had burned, as he marched before them, to prevent *Cyrus* from passing over; it seemed therefore providential [a], and that the

[a] Εδοκει δε θειον ειναι. I make no doubt but what *Xenophon* says concerning this Submission of the *Euphrates* was the Stile of *Cyrus*'s Court upon this occasion. It seems that the *Euphrates* was not indued with the same Spirit of Prophecy that *Horace* gives to *Nereus*: otherwise

the River visibly submitted to *Cyrus*, as to its future King.

FROM thence he advanced through [b] *Syria*, and, having in nine days march made fifty Parasangas, came to the River [c] *Araxes*: where, being many Villages full of Corn and Wine, they staid three Days, made their Provisions, and then proceeded through [d] *Arabia*, keeping the River

wise, like him, he would have cried out *mala ducis avi*; and not have suffered his army to have forded him so easily, a favour he afterwards denied to *Alexander*, whose Success might have given him a better Title to it, and who was obliged to pass this River at the same Place over two Bridges.

Arrian 3 *B.*

[b] Διὰ τῆς Συρίας. Let not the Reader be surprised to find *Xenophon* mentions *Syria* in *Mesopotamia*, through which he is now conducting *Cyrus*; for it appears both by *Pliny* and *Strabo*, that the Country lying between *Thapsacus*, and the *Scenite Arabians*, of whom he will speak presently, was part of *Syria*.

Plin. N. H. 5 *B. c.* 12.

Strabo, 16 *B.*

[c] Ἀράξην. I never yet could find this River in any other Author but *Xenophon*, I mean a River called *Araxes*, that runs through this Part of *Syria*; for every body knows there are Rivers of this Name in other Parts of *Asia*, so must submit it to the Learned, whether this River is the *Aboras* of *Marcellinus* which *Strabo* calls Ἀβόρρας, and *Ptolemy* χαβώρας, and the *Arabians Al Chabur*.

Ammian. Marcel. 5 *B. c.* 18.

Strabo, 16 *Book.*

Ptolemy, 5 *B. c.* 18.

[d] Διὰ τῆς Ἀραβίας. The Inhabitants of this Part of *Arabia* are called by *Strabo* Σκηνῖται Ἄραβες; they were a vagabond People, and, like most of their Countrymen, great

Strabo, 16 *B.*

River *Euphrates* on his right hand, and in five days march through a Defert, made thirty-five Parafangas. The Country was a Plain throughout, as even as the Sea, and full of Wormwood; if any other kinds of Shrubs, or Reeds grew there, they had all an aromatic Smell; but no Trees appeared. Of wild Creatures, the moft numerous were wild [e] Affes, and not a few Oftriches [f], befides Buft-

great Robbers; *Nomades, infeftioreſque Chaldæorum, Scenitæ*, fays *Pliny*, *a tabernaculis cognominati*: they were afterwards called *Saracens*; which Name *Scaliger* derives from *Saric*, which, in *Arabic*, fignifies a Robber: Thofe, who have travelled through *Afia*, will not think this Etymology forced. Plin. 6 *H.* c. 28. Ammian.

[e] Αγριοὶ ὄνοι. All Authors, both ancient and modern, agree, that wild Affes are exceeding fwift. *Oppian*, in his Treatife of Hunting, calls the wild Afs ἀλιτόδην, fwift as the Wind, an Epithet given by *Homer* to the Horfes which *Jupiter* beftowed on the Father of *Ganymede*, to make him fome amends for the lofs of his Son. The wild Afs is very different both in its Shape and Colour from the common Afs. There is a Skin of this Animal at the College of Phyficians in *London*; another I have feen, among many other Curiofities, natural and artificial, ancient and modern, belonging to my Neighbour Sir *Andrew Fountaine*: The firft of thefe I ftuffed, and by that the Creature appears to have been between twelve and thirteen Hands high; the Colour of every Part about him is compofed of white and chefnut Stripes, his Ears, Mane, and Tail like thofe of a common Afs; his Forehand is long and thin, his Shoulders fine, his Back ftraight, his Body full, his Hoofs a little bound, his Oppian. Κυνηγ. 3 *B.* Homer ἀελλόπος ἵππος Ἀφροδ.

[s] Buſtards, and [h] Roe-Deer, which our Horſemen ſometimes chaſed. The Aſſes, when his Legs perfectly fine; ſeems a little gooſe-rumped, his Quarters are thin and lying under him, and his Hams bent inward; to theſe three laſt Shapes he very probably owes his ſpeed. This Doctrine I know all Sportſmen will not allow, but many Obſervations in Sporting have convinced me of its Truth. Wild Aſſes were ſometimes made uſe of by the Ancients to cover Mares, in order to breed Mules; but all their Authors agree, that the beſt Stallion for that purpoſe was an Aſs bred between a wild Male Aſs, and a Female of the common kind. *Pliny* tells us alſo, that the Foals of wild Aſſes were called *Laliſiones* and were delicate Meat. Wild Aſſes are common in the Deſerts of *Numidia* and *Lybia*, and particularly in *Arabia*; they are ſold at an exceſſive Price when reclaimed, and it is ſaid the Kings of *Perſia* have always Stables of them. When they are young, their Fleſh is like that of a Hare, and when old, like red Veniſon.

Pl. N. H. 8 *B.*

Ælian.

[r] Στρεθοὶ αἱ μεγάλαι. Oſtriches are Animals very well known, they are common in *Africa*, *South America*, and many Parts of the *Levant*, as *Arabia* and *Meſopotamia*, &c. I remember to have ſeen two that were ſhewn at *London*; we were informed they came from *Buenos Ayres*: they anſwered the Deſcription given of them in Books. Their Feathers, in ſo great requeſt for ſeveral kinds of Ornaments, particularly upon the Stage, and anciently in War, *conos galeaſque adornantes penna* ſays *Pliny*; theſe, I ſay, come from their Tail and Wings, and are generally white: The Feather of an Oſtrich was among the *Egyptians*, the Emblem of Juſtice. All Authors agree, that in running they aſſiſt themſelves with their Wings, in the manner deſcribed by *Xenophon*: ſome have thought that this compound Motion, which conſiſts both of flying and running, gave occaſion to the Fiction of the poetical Horſe, *Pegaſus*. It is ſaid they eat Iron, which is ſo far true, that in thoſe diſſected in the Academy of Sciences at

Pl. N. H. 10 *B. c.* 1.

Urreta *Hiſt. of Ethiopia.*

when they were purſued, having gained ground of the Horſes, ſtood ſtill (for they exceeded them much in ſpeed) and when theſe came up with them, they did the ſame thing again: ſo that our Horſemen could take them by no other means but

at *Paris*, they found ſeveral Pieces of Iron-Money in them more than half diminiſhed; but this was occaſioned by the mutual Attrition of thoſe Pieces, and not by Digeſtion, for they ſwallow Iron to grind their Meat, as other Birds ſwallow Pebbles for the ſame purpoſe.

g Ὠτίδες. Buſtards are very well known to Sportſmen; we have great numbers of them in *Norfolk*; they are remarkable for having no more than three Claws, like the Dotterel, and ſome few other Birds; they are ſcarce to be approached by any Contrivance as I have been taught by many Diſappointments: poſſibly this may be owing to their exquiſite Senſe of hearing, no Bird having in proportion to its Size, ſo large an Aperture to convey it. What *Xenophon* ſays concerning their ſhort Flights, can only be underſtood of them before they are full grown, for, when they are ſo, they make Flights of five or ſix Miles with great Eaſe. *Pliny* and *Xenophon*, like many other People, differ in their Taſte with relation to Buſtards; the firſt calls them *dammatas in Cibis*, the laſt, we find, commends them. Pl. 10 *B.* c. 22.

h Δορκάδες. We have no Roe-Deer in the South of *England*, they are common in *France*, *&c. Chevreuils*: I have often ſeen them hunted there; they run the Toil more than a Hare, and hunt ſhorter; they have great ſpeed, but as they do not run within themſelves, but often tapiſe, and conſequently give frequent Views, they ſeldom ſtand long even before their Hounds. They are vaſtly leſs than our Fallow Deer, and are very good Meat, when fat, which ſeldom happens.

but by dividing themſelves into Relays, and ſucceeding one another in the Chace. The Fleſh of thoſe that were taken was like that of red Deer, but more tender. None could take an Oſtrich; the Horſemen, who purſued them, ſoon giving it over: for they flew far away as they fled, making uſe both of their Feet to run, and of their Wings, when expanded, as a Sail to waft them along. As for the Buſtards, they may be taken, if one ſprings them haſtily, they making ſhort flights, like Partridges, and are ſoon tired. Their fleſh was very delicious.

IN marching through this Country they came to the River *Maſca*, a hundred Feet in breadth, ſurrounding a large City uninhabited, called *Corſote*; whence, after continuing three days, making their Proviſions, he made ninety Paraſangas in thirteen days march, through a Deſert, ſtill keeping the *Euphrates* on his right, and came to *Pylæ*; during which Marches, many ſumpter Horſes died of Hunger, there being no Graſs, nor any other Plant, but the whole Country entirely Barren; the Inhabitants being

being employed near the River with digging [i] Mill-ſtones, which they afterwards faſhioned and conveyed to Babylon for ſale to buy Proviſions for their ſupport. By this time the Army wanted Corn, and there was none to be bought, but in the *Lydian* Market, which was in the Camp of the *Barbarians*, belonging to *Cyrus*, where a [k] Capithe of [l] Wheat, or Barley-Meal was ſold for four [m] Sigli. The Siglus is worth ſeven *Attick* Oboli [n] and a half; and the Capithe holds two *At-*

[i] Ονυς ἀλέτας. Ονος ὁ ἀιώτερος λίθος τῦ μύλυ. *Phavorinus.* So that ὄνοι ἀλέται ſignify properly the upper Mill-ſtones.

[k] Καπίθη. From this paſſage it appears that the Καπίθη held two *Attick* Chœnixes.

[l] Αλέυρων. *Hutchinſon* has, with great Judgment, ſupported the *Greek* Text againſt *Muretus*, who wanted to ſtrike out ἀλέυρων, as ſignifying the ſame thing with ἀλφίτων, whereas *Phavorinus* from the Scholiaſt of *Æſchylus* plainly diſtinguiſhes ἄλευρα from ἄλφιτα, ſhewing that the firſt ſignifies the Flour of Wheat, and the other that of Barley. Ἄλευρα κυρίως τὰ ἐκ σίτυ, ἄλφιτα τὰ ἐκ κριθῶν ἄλευρα. *Phavorinus.* Æſchyl. Schol. p. 31.

[m] Σιγλος. This was a *Perſian* Coin: *Heſychius* and *Phavorinus* make it worth eight ὀβολοὶ, but this Paſſage ſhews it was worth but 7 ½.

[n] Οβολὸς. The ὀβολὸς was the ſixth part of a Drachm, it was called ſo from its Reſemblance to a Spit. See note [m], page 9, concerning the *Greek* Coins. Phavorinus Julius Pollux.

Attick [o] Chœnixes: ſo that the Soldiers lived upon Fleſh. Some of theſe Marches were very long, when *Cyrus* had a mind his Army ſhould go on 'till they came to water or forage. And once where the Road was narrow and ſo deep, that the Carriages could not paſs without difficulty, *Cyrus* ſtopped with thoſe about him of the greateſt Authority, and Fortune, and ordered *Glus* and *Pigres* to take ſome of the *Barbarians* belonging to his Army, and help the Carriages through; but, thinking they went ſlowly about it, he commanded as in Anger, the moſt conſiderable *Perſians*, who were with him, to aſſiſt in haſtening on the Carriages, which afforded an Inſtance of their ready Obedience; for, throwing off their purple [p] Robes, where each of them happened to ſtand, they ran, as if it had been for a Prize, even down a very ſteep Hill, in their coſtly Veſts, and embroidered

Arbuthnot.

[o] Χοῖνιξ. A dry Meaſure containing three Κοτύλαι, which were equal to $1\frac{1}{2}$ of the ξέστης; the χοῖνιξ contained 40,737 ſolid Inches.

[p] Κάνδυς. Κάνδυς, χιτὼν Περσικός. *Suidas.* A *Perſian* Robe.

ed [q] Drawers, ſome even with Chains about their Necks, and Bracelets round their Wriſts; and, leaping into the Dirt with theſe, they lifted up the Carriages, and brought them out ſooner than can be imagined. Upon the whole, *Cyrus* appeared throughout to haſten their march, ſtopping, no where unleſs to get Proviſions, or for other things that were very neceſſary; he judging the quicker he marched, the more unprepared the King would be to encounter him, and the flower, the more numerous would be the King's Army; for it was obvious to any Perſon of Attention, that the *Perſian*

[q] Ἀναξυρίδας. Ἀναξυρίδες were alſo part of the Dreſs of the old *Gauls*, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, who ſays, they called them Βρακαι, which *Braccæ* it is certain gave name to a very conſiderable Part of *France*, called from thence *Gallia Braccata*, the ſame with *Gallia Narbonenſis*: The *French* Language has retained this word, *Bragues*, which is ſoftened into a more modern one *Braies*. I leave it to ſome profound Antiquary, who may be diſpoſed to employ his idle Labour in this Enquiry, to conſider how far this Dreſs, from which *Perſius* calls the *Medes*, *Medos Braccatos*, and which *Ovid* calls *Perſica Bracca*, how far, I ſay, this Dreſs, which we find to have been common both to the *Perſians* and *Gauls* of old, may be a proof of their being deſcended originally from the ſame People, that is, the *Scythians*, who, after they had conquered the *Medes*, continued Maſters of that Part of *Aſia* for eight and twenty Years; particularly ſince we find in *Herodotus*, that among the *Perſians* there was a People called Γερμανοι, *Germans*.

Diodorus Siculus 5 *B.*

Perſius, 3 *Sat.* Ovid. 5 *B. Trift.*

Herodotus Clio.

ſian Empire, though ſtrong with regard to the [r] Extent of Country, and Numbers of Men, was however weak by reaſon of the great Diſtance of Places, and the Diviſion of its Forces, when ſurpriſed by a ſudden Invaſion.

In their march through the Deſert, they diſcovered a large and populous City ſituated on the other ſide of the *Euphrates*, called *Carmande*, where the Soldiers bought [s] Proviſions, having paſſed over to it upon [t] *Rafts*, by filling the Skins

[r] Πλῆθος. This Word ſignifies Quantity in this place, when applied to the Country; and Number, when applied to the Men; it is frequently uſed by the beſt Authors in the firſt Senſe as well as the laſt.

[s] Ἠγόραζον Somebody has violently provoked *Hutchinſon* by finding fault with the Scripture-Writers, for making uſe of this Word in the Senſe *Xenophon* uſes it upon this occaſion: There can be no doubt but ἀγοράζειν is to be found in the beſt Authors in this Senſe; I remember a Paſſage in *Iſocrates* to *Nicocles*, which will not only ſupport what I have ſaid, but may well deſerve tranſlating; ἐυρεὰς ὑμεῖς πολὺ πλείονος ἀγοράζετε παρὰ τῶν διδόντων ἢ παρὰ τῶν πωλούντων. *You* (Men of Fortune) purchaſe Preſents much dearer from thoſe who give, than from thoſe who ſell.

Odyſſ. ε. [t] Σχεδίης. Whenever *Homer* ſpeaks of the Boat, which *Ulyſſes* built with his own Hands in four Days, in *Ogygia*, *Calypſo*'s Iſland, he calls it σχεδίη, which is thus explained by the Scholiaſt, εἰκαίως· κατασκευασθεῖσα ναῦς; a Boat built on a ſudden; it ſignifies alſo an ex-

"Skins, which they made uſe of for Tents, with dry Hay, and ſewing them together ſo cloſe, that the Water could not get therein: theſe Proviſions were ſuch as Wine made of the [x]Fruit of the *Palm-Tree*,

temporary Bridge, in which Senſe *Herodotus* applies it to the two Bridges of Boats, over which *Xerxes* paſſed the *Helleſpont*. Here *Xenophon* uſes it for a Raft, (if I may be allowed to make uſe of that Word upon this occaſion) made of Skins ſtuffed with Hay. Herodotus Polymnia.

[u] Διφθέρας. This Method of paſſing Rivers was formerly much in uſe; as the Soldiers Tents were generally made of Skins, inſtead of Canvas, they had always great numbers of them at hand; the Tents of the *Romans* were alſo made of Skins, whence come theſe Phraſes, *ſub pellibus durare*, and *ſub pellibus continere*, which we find in *Livy* and *Caſar*. *Alexander*, in his victorious March through *Aſia*, paſſed ſeveral Rivers in this manner, particularly the *Oxus*, the Paſſage of which is deſcribed by *Arrian* in ſuch a manner, that it is obvious to any one he had this Deſcription of *Xenophon* in his Eye, which, I think, he explains much better than I can, his Words are theſe. ξυναγαγὼν δὲ τὰς διφθέρας ὑφ' αἷς ἐσχήνων οἱ στρατιῶται, φορυτὸν ἐμπλήσαι ἐκέλευεν ὡς ξηροτάτου, καὶ κατασήσαι τε καὶ ξυρράψαι ἀκριβῶς τὸ μὴ ἐνδύεσθαι ἐς αὐτὰς τὸ ὕδωρ. Livy 5 B. Caſar B. G. 4 B. c. 33. Arrian, 3 B. 2 c.

[x] Τῆς βαλάνου. The Fruit of the *Palm-Tree* is properly called Dates, of which there is an infinite variety: of theſe they make in *Paphia* a Wine, which is very agreeable, but does not keep well: of this Wine, *Cambyſes*, when he was in *Egypt*, ſent a Hogſhead to the King of the *Ethiopians*, as a Preſent; with this Wine the *Egyptians* waſhed their dead Bodies before they embalmed them. By the way, I have always thought, that the Fruit of a certain *Palm-Tree*, deſcribed by *Pliny*, who calls the Trees *Syagri*, anſwers exactly to the Coco-nut: This Herodotus Thalia. Id. in Euterpe. Pl. N. H. 13 B. c. 9.

Tree, and *Paiic*, there being great plenty of this in the Country. 'Twas here, that a diſpute aroſe between *Menon*'s Soldiers, and thoſe of *Clearchus*; the latter, thinking one of *Menon*'s Men in the wrong, ſtruck him; the Soldier, thereupon informed his Companions of it, who not only reſented it, but were violently incenſed againſt *Clearchus*, [y] who, the ſame day, after he had been at the place where the Men paſſed the River, and inſpected the Proviſions, rode back to his own Tent with a few Attendants through *Menon*'s Army; and before the arrival of *Cyrus*, who was on his way thither, it happened that one of *Menon*'s Soldiers, as he was riving Wood, ſaw *Clearchus* riding threw the Camp, and threw his Ax at him, but miſſed him; then another, and another threw Stones at him, upon

This *Palm-Tree*, he ſays, grew in that Part of the *Lower Egypt*, which he calls *Chora Alexandrix*; the Deſcription he gives of its Fruit, is, as follows, *Ipſum Pomum grande, durum, horridum & a cæteris generibus diſtans ſapore ferine, quem ferme in Apris novimus, evidentiſſimaque cauſa eſt nominis.*

[y] Κλέαρχος ἐλθων ἐπὶ τὴν διάβασιν τὴ ποταμῦ, κ) ἐκεῖ καταστηϛαμενος τὴν ἀγορὰν. *D'Ablancourt* has left out all this in his Tranſlation, as he has this Parenthelis alſo, Κῦρος δ' ἀπω ἦκιν, ἀλλ' ἔτι πορρω ἦν.

upon which, a great Outcry enſuing, many did the ſame. However, *Clearchus* eſcaped to his own Quarter, and immediately ordered his Men to their Arms; commanding the heavy-armed Soldiers to ſtand ſtill, reſting their Shields againſt their Knees, and taking with him the *Thracians* and the Horſe, of whom he had above forty in his Army, the greateſt part *Thracians*, he rode up to *Menon*'s Men, who thereupon, were in great Conſternation, as well as *Menon* himſelf, and ran to their Arms, while others ſtood amazed, not knowing what to do; but *Proxenus*, for he happened to be coming after them at the head of his heavy-armed Men, advanced between them both, and [z] making his Soldiers ſtand

[z] Εθετο τὰ ὅπλα. *Hutchinſon* with great reaſon finds fault with *Leunclavius* for tranſlating this *arma deponebat*, it really ſignifying the reverſe, as he has very properly rendered it, *armis rite diſpoſitis*, and as *Harpocration* explains this Phraſe, θεμενος τὰ ὅπλα περιθέμενος, ἐπλισάμενος; And as *Shakeſpear* has ſaid, according to his Cuſtom, more beautifully than any other Author, *the Powers above put on their Inſtruments*. Not that I imagine *Proxenus*, when he advanced between *Menon* and *Clearchus*, had his Armour to put on, but that he ordered his Men to ſtand to their Arms, that he might be prepared to prevent their engaging by force, if he could not prevail by fair means. Upon the whole, I look upon it, that *Proxenus* put his Men in the ſame Poſture, into which Macbeth.

ſtand to their Arms, begged of *Clearchus* to deſiſt. But he took it very ill, that, having narrowly eſcaped being ſtoned to death, the other ſhould ſpeak tamely of his Grievance; and therefore deſired he would withdraw from between them. In the mean time *Cyrus* came up, and being informed of what had happened, immediately took his Arms, and with the *Perſians* who were preſent, rode between them, and ſpoke to them in the following manner: *Clearchus! and Proxenus! and you Greeks who are preſent! you are not ſenſible of what you are doing; for, if you fight with one another, be aſſured, that I ſhall this day be deſtroyed, and you not long after; for, if our Affairs decline, all theſe Barbarians, whom you ſee before you, will be greater Enemies to you than thoſe belonging to the King.*" *Clearchus*, hearing this, came to himſelf, and both ſides reſigning their

which *Eurypylus* in *Homer* threw the *Greeks*, in order to ſecure the Retreat of *Ajax*, when he was puſhed by the *Trojans*,

οἱ, δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν
Πλησίοι ἵσταντο σακε ὠμοισι κλονεοντες
Δηρατ' ἀναστοχόμενοι.

II. Λ.

D'Ablancourt foreſaw the Difficulty of this Paſſage, and prudently avoided it by leaving it quite out, a Conduct he obſerved about three Lines above, where he alſo omitted to tranſlate οἱ δὲ ἡ ἵσταντο ἀπρήκτοις τῷ πραγματι.

their Anger, laid up their Arms [a] where they were before.

WHILE they were marching forward, there appeared the Footing and Dung of Horſes, which, by the [b] Print of their Feet, were judged to be about two thouſand, marching before, burning all the Forage, and every thing elſe that could

[a] Κατὰ χώραν. I own, I cannot agree with *Hutchinſon* that κατὰ χώραν, in this place, ſignifies *ſuo ordine & loco, ubi arma iter facientium diſponi par eſt*: I think that is rather the ſignification of ἐν χώρᾳ, than of κατὰ χώραν, the laſt implying no more than that a thing remained in the ſame place it was in before. In this Senſe *Ariſtophanes* ſays, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὸ βλέμμ' αὐτὸ κατὰ χώραν ἔχει, his Look even is not the ſame. So that a thing may be κατὰ χώραν, and not ἐν χώρᾳ, in the place it was, and not in the place it ought to be. Ariſtop. *in* Pluto.

[b] Ὁ ϛίβος. I make no doubt but ϛίβος ſignifies, as *Hutchinſon* has tranſlated it, ὁδός: but I hope it will be allowed that it ſignifies alſo the Print of Feet; there being a Paſſage in *Homer*, in his Hymn to *Mercury*, which plainly proves that ϛίβος has both theſe Significations, for which reaſon I ſhall tranſcribe it: Homer *Hymn to* Mercury.

Ὄφρα μὲν ἂν ἐδίωκε διὰ ψαμαθώδεα χῶρον,
Γεῖα μάλ' ἴχνια πάντα διέπρεπεν ἐν κονιῇσιν·
Αὐταὰρ ἐπεὶ ψαμαθοῖο μίγαν ϛίβον ἐξεπέρησεν,
Ἄφρας ὁ γένετ' ὦκα βοῶν ϛίβος, ἠδὲ κ' ἀὐτῷ
Χῶρον ἀνὰ κρατερόν.

I hazard an Obſervation to ſhew, that our Author uſes the Word here to ſignify the Print of the Horſes Feet, it is this: The Article ὁ before ϛίβος ſeems to me to refer to ἴχνη ἵππων, mentioned in the foregoing Line.

could be of any uſe. There was a *Perſian*, by Name *Orontas*, a Prince of the Blood, and of Reputation, in military Affairs, equal to the moſt conſiderable among the *Perſians*; having formed a Deſign to betray *Cyrus*, with whom he had before been at war; but, being now reconciled, told *Cyrus*, that, if he would give him a thouſand Horſe, he would place himſelf in Ambuſcade, and either deſtroy thoſe Horſe that burned all before him, or take many of them Priſoners, which would prevent them both from burning the Country, and from being able to inform the King that they had ſeen his Army. *Cyrus* thinking this Propoſal for his Service, ordered him to take a Detachment out of every Troop belonging to the ſeveral Commanders.

ORONTAS, preſuming the Horſe were ready, wrote a Letter to the King, acquainting him, that he ſhould come to him with as many Horſe as he could get, and deſiring him to give Orders at the ſame time, to his own Horſe that they

they [c] ſhould receive him as a Friend; reminding him alſo of his former Friendſhip and Fidelity. This Letter he gave to a truſty Perſon, as he thought, who, as ſoon as he had received it, delivered it to *Cyrus*; who immediately commanded *Orontas* to be apprehended, and cauſed [d] ſeven of the moſt conſiderable *Perſians* about him to aſſemble in his Tent; and, at the ſame time, upon giving Orders to the *Greek* Generals for bringing their heavy-armed Men, and place them round his Tent, with their Arms in their Hands,

[c] Αλλά. Ἀλλὰ is here, as *Hutchinſon* has obſerved, παρακελευσικὸν, an exhortative Particle; in which Senſe it is frequently uſed by *Xenophon*, and indeed by all Authors, particularly by *Homer*. There is a neceſſity of ſo frequent a Repetition in this place, that it unavoidably renders the Tranſlation diſagreeable; the difference in the Termination of ἱππίας and ἱππιῦσι, and in the *Latin* of *Equites* and *Equitibus*, makes the Reader inſenſible of this Repetition; this is one Diſadvantage, among many others, to which a literal Tranſlation, in a modern Language, is ſubject. *D'Ablancourt* always avoids theſe Repetitions, and every thing elſe that lays him under any Reſtraint, whatever Violence he may do to the Author's Senſe; it muſt be owned, his Method gives a Tranſlation the Air of an Original, but then it often makes it one. Joſeph. 12 *B.*

[d] Τὰς ἀρίστας τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἱππάς. We often find a Council of ſeven mentioned by the Writers, who treat of the Affairs of *Perſia*; which Council ſeems to have been inſtituted in memory of the ſeven *Perſian* Noblemen, who put the Magi to death: of whom *Darius Hyſtaſpes*, afterwards King of *Perſia*, was one. Jew. Ant. c. 6. Zonaras. 1 *tom.* Eſdras 7*c*. Herodot. *in* Thalia.

Hands, they obeyed his Commands, and brought with them about three thouſand heavy-armed Men. He alſo called *Clearchus* to the Council, as a Man, whom both he, and the reſt looked upon to be of the greateſt Dignity among the *Greeks*. When he came out, he gave his Friends an account of the [c] Trial of *Orontas*, (for Secrecy was not enjoined,) and of the Speech which *Cyrus* made, as follows:

FRIENDS! I have called you hither to the end that I may conſider with you of what is moſt juſt both in the ſight of Gods *and Men, and accordingly proceed againſt this Criminal* Orontas. *In the firſt place, my Father appointed* [f] *this Man to be my ſub-*

[c] Τὴν κρίσιν τῦ Ορόντυ. Sure, *comme le procès d'Oronte avoit été jugé*, would have been as proper a Tranſlation of theſe Words, as *comme la choſe s'étoit paſſée*, in *d'Ablancourt*.

[f] Τοῦτον γὰρ. Γὰρ in this place is not deſigned to introduce a Reaſon for what precedes, but to inforce what follows, as in *Homer*,

Homer Il. ϖ. Λυτήσω γὰρ ἐγὼ τῦ δ' ἀνέρος, ὕφρα δαείω,
Ος ις ὅδε κρατέει.

D'Ablancourt has rendered ὑπήκοον ἐμοὶ εἶναι in the ſame Sentence, *pour m'accompagner*.

ſubject; [g] *afterwards, by the Command, as he ſays, of my Brother, he made war upon me, being then in poſſeſſion of the Citadel of* Sardes; *this War I proſecuted in ſuch a manner, as to diſpoſe him to deſire an end of it, and I received his* [h] *Hand, and gave him mine*; *ſince that time, ſay* Orontas, *have I done you any Injury?* To which he anſwered, *None*. *Cyrus* again aſked him, *Did not you afterwards, without any Provocation from me, as you yourſelf own revolt to the* Myſians, *and lay waſte my Country to the utmoſt of your Power? Orontas* owned it. *After that* (continued *Cyrus*) *when you again became ſenſible of your*

[g] Επεὶ δὲ. I have tranſlated this as if *Xenophon* had ſaid ἔπειτα δὲ, in which Senſe ἐπεὶ δὲ ſeems to anſwer better to πρῶτον μέν: *Hutchinſon* has ſaid *poſteaquam*, which has no relation to *primum*, I think *deinde* would have been better.

[h] Δεξιὰν ἔλαβον. *Hutchinſon*, in his Annotations upon the Inſtitution of *Cyrus*, has brought ſeveral Authorities to prove, that the Kings of *Perſia* uſed to pledge their Faith by giving their right Hands, which to be ſure is true; but this Cuſtom was alſo obſerved by all Nations, and by the *Greeks*, ſo early as in *Homer*'s Days, as we learn from *Neſtor*'s Speech to the *Greek* Commanders,

Σπονδαί τ' ἄκρητοι, καὶ δεξιαὶ, ἧς ἐπέπιθμεν. Hom. Il. β.

Which I need not tranſlate, becauſe *Ovid* has almoſt done it for me.

Jura, Fides ubi nunc, commiſſaque dextera dextræ? Ovid. 2 *Epiſt.*

your want of power, did not you fly to the [1] *Altar of* Diana, *profeſs repentance, and having prevailed with me, give me again your Faith, and receive mine?* This alſo *Orontas* confeſſed. *What Injury then,* (ſays *Cyrus*) *have I done you, that you ſhould now, for the third time, be found endeavouring to betray me?* *Orontas* ſaying that he was not provoked to it by any Injury, *Cyrus* continued, *You own then you have wronged me?* I am under a neceſſity of owning it, replied *Orontas*; upon which,

[1] Ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος βώμον. *Hutchinſon* is of opinion, that this muſt be the Altar of *Diana* of *Epheſus*: which to me ſeems very probable, for this reaſon, becauſe that Altar was a very ancient Sanctuary; ſo ancient that *Euſtathius*, in his Annotations on *Dionyſius* περιηγήτης, ſays, the *Amazons* being purſued by *Hercules*, and flying to this Altar, were protected by the Religion of it. As the *Perſians* worſhipped the *Sun* and *Moon*, it is no wonder they had a reſpect for the Altar of *Diana*, which may be the reaſon why they ſpared *Delus* and *Epheſus*, when they burned all the other *Greek* Temples. It is equally certain this could not be a *Perſian* Altar, if what *Herodotus* ſays be true, that the *Perſians* erected none to their Gods. Though it is certain there was a temple in *Ecbatana* dedicated to *Diana*, under the Name of *Anitis*; ſince *Plutarch* tells us, that *Artaxerxes* made *Aſpaſia* a Prieſteſs of that Goddeſs, to diſappoint *Darius*, τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς ἐν Σοῦσοις, ἣν Ἀνεῖτιν καλοῦσι, ἱερὰν ἀπέδειξεν αὐτῆς. (τὴν Ἀσπασίαν.) But, as *Ecbatana* was far diſtant from the Government of *Cyrus*, it is not at all probable that *Orontas* fled to that Temple for Protection. However, the *Perſians* had a particular Reſpect for *Diana* of *Epheſus*, an Inſtance of which may be ſeen in *Thucydides*, where we find *Tiſſaphernes* offering Sacrifice to that Goddeſs.

Euſtathius *on* Dionyſius. Herodotus Clio. Strabo, 14 *B.* Scholiaſt *of* Ariſtophanes *in* Εἰρήνῃ. Herodotus *ib.* Plutarch *in* Artaxerxes.

Thucyd. 8 *B.*

which, *Cyrus* asked him again, *Can you yet be an Enemy to my Brother, and a Friend to me?* Though I should, says *Orontas*. O *Cyrus!* you will never think me so.

HEREUPON, *Cyrus* said to those who were present, *Such are the Actions of this Man, and such his Words:* at the same time, desiring the Opinion of *Clearchus*, who delivered it as follows: *My Advice is, that this Man be forthwith put to death, to the end that we may no longer be under a necessity of guarding against his Practices, but have leisure, being freed* [k] *from him, to do good to those who desire to be our Friends:* after which, upon declaring the rest were unanimous in this Advice, they all rose up, and, together with his Relations, by Order of *Cyrus*, laid hold on [l] *Orontas*'s Girdle, as a Token of his being

[k] Τὸ κατὰ σοῦτον εἶναι. This Addition of εἶναι is very common in all the *Attick* Writers. *Herodotus* has also admitted it into his *Ionick* Stile; thus he makes *Damaratus* say to *Xerxes*, Ἐκὼν γε εἶναι οὐδ' ἂν μονομαχέοιμι: *d'Ablancourt*, I imagine, found some difficulty in this Passage, for he has left it out. Herodotus *in* Polyhymnia.

[l] Ἐλάβοντο τῆς ζώνης. *Hutchinson* has shewed from a Passage in *Diodorus Siculus*, in the Affair of *Charidemus*, Diod. Sic. 17 B.

ing condemned; and inſtantly led out by the proper Officers; when, although in that *diſhonourable* ſituation, thoſe who uſed to proſtrate themſelves before him, even then paid him the ſame [m] Veneration, though they knew he was leading to death. He was carried into the Tent of *Artapates*, who was in the greateſt Truſt with *Cyrus* of any of his Sceptre-Bearers [n]; from which time, no one ever

who was ordered to be put to death by *Darius*, that it was a Cuſtom among the *Perſians* to lay hold on a Criminal's Girdle when they condemned him to die.

[m] Προσεκύνησαν. Hence it appears, that this Cuſtom of Adoration was not only uſed by Subjects to the Kings of *Perſia*, but by Subjects of an inferior Degree to thoſe of a ſuperior: We have the whole Ceremonial in *Herodotus*; if two *Perſians* of equal Degree meet, ſays he, they kiſs one another's Mouths; if one of them is ſomething inferior to the other, he kiſſes his Cheek; if much inferior, he falls down and adores him. When *Alexander*, intoxicated with Succeſs, endeavoured to prevail with the *Macedonians* to imitate the conquered *Perſians* in this Servility, *Calliſthenes* oppoſed him to his Face with a Spirit becoming both a *Greek* and a Philoſopher; by what he ſays to *Alexander* upon that occaſion, we find that *Cyrus*, the Founder of the *Perſian* Empire, was the firſt of all Mankind, to whom Adoration was paid, which from thence was looked upon as a Duty from the *Medes* and *Perſians* to his Succeſſors. To this Day the *Greeks* call the Compliments they ſend one to another προσκυνήματα, *Adorations*.

Herodotus *in* Clio.

Arrian, 4 *B.*

[n] Σκηπτούχων. Sceptres both in the ancient and modern World, are Enſigns of great Dignity. All Authors agree,

ever saw *Orontas* either ° alive or dead, nor could any one certainly relate how he was put to death, though various Conjectures were made about it; neither

agree, that they were borne by the Kings of *Persia*; upon which occasion, I cannot help translating a fine Sentiment made use of by the first *Cyrus*, (or rather by our Author) in the Speech he makes to his Children; *You are sensible, says he,* O Cambyses! *that this golden Sceptre is not the Support of the Empire, but that faithful Friends are the truest and surest Sceptre of Kings,* οἶσθα μὲν ἔν γε σὺ, ὦ Καμβύση, ὅτι ὁ τόδε τὸ χρυσοῦν σκῆπτρον τὸ τὴν βασιλείαν διασῴζόν ἐστιν, ἀλλ' οἱ πιστοὶ φίλοι σκῆπτρον βασιλεῦσιν ἀληθέστατον καὶ ἀσφαλέστατον. This Thought, *Sallust* has paraphrased in the Speech of *Micipsa. Non exercitus, neque thesauri, præsidia Regni sunt, verùm amici. Homer* gives all his *Greek* Commanders Sceptres; with him a King is Σκηπτοῦχος βασιλεύς, which *Milton* has rendered *sceptred Kings:* By this Passage in *Xenophon*, we find, that *Persian* Noblemen were also distinguished by this Mark of Dignity. However, I look upon the Σκηπτοῦχοι, or Sceptre-Bearers, to have been a kind of Guard attending upon the Persons of the *Persian* Kings, since we find in *Xenophon*, that three hundred of them, richly dressed, attended the first *Cyrus* upon a very solemn occasion, ἐφέποντο οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν σκηπτοῦχοι κεκοσμημένοι — ἀμφὶ τοὺς τριακοσίους. *D'Ablancourt* has strangely mistaken this Passage, he supposes *Artapates* to have been one of those, whose Duty it was to carry the Sceptre of *Cyrus*; but I do not think it fair to censure him, without quoting his Words, *l'un des plus fideles serviteurs de Cyrus, d'entre ceux qui portoient son Sceptre.*

Xenophon Instit. of Cyrus, 8 B.

Sallust. Jug. War.

Il. A.

Milton Par. Lost. 1 B.

Xenophon 8 B. Instit. of Cyrus.

° Μετὰ ταῦτα οὔτε ζῶντα Ὀρόντην, οὔτε θανόντα οὐδεὶς πώποτε εἶδεν. *Hutchinson* has left out this Line in his Translation; when I say this, I desire not to be mistaken, I am convinced that his leaving it out was owing to some accident; for he is certainly not, like some others, a shy Translator, where he meets with a difficulty.

ther was it ever known that any Monument was erected to his memory.

CYRUS next proceeded through the Country of *Babylon*, and after compleating twelve Parasangas in three days march, reviewed his Forces, both *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, in a Plain about Midnight, (expecting the King would appear the next Morning, at the Head of his Army, ready to give him Battle) giving the Command of the right Wing to *Clearchus*, and that of the left to *Menon* the *Thessalian*, while he himself drew up his own Men. After the Review, and as soon as the Day appeared, there came Deserters from the great King, bringing an account of his Army to *Cyrus*, who thereupon called together the Generals and Captains of the *Greeks*, and advised with them concerning the Order of Battle; at the same time encouraging them by the following Persuasions: *O* Greeks! *it is not from any want of* Barbarians, *that I make use of you as my Auxiliaries, but, because I look upon you as superior to great Numbers of them; for*

for that reaſon I have taken you alſo into my Service: Shew [p] *yourſelves therefore worthy of that Liberty you enjoy, in the poſſeſſion of which I think you extremely happy; for be* [q] *aſſured that I would prefer Liberty before all things I poſſeſs, with the Addition of many others. But, that you may underſtand what kind of Combat you are going to engage in, I ſhall explain it to you: Their Numbers are great, and they come on with mighty Shouts, which if you can with-*

[p] Οπως ἂν ἔσεσθε ἄνδρες ἄξιοι τῆς ἐλευθερίας, &c. Theſe Ellipſes, as well in Prohibitions, as in Exhortations, are often to be met with in the beſt Authors, particularly the *Attick* Writers; in the former φυλάττω, or ſomething like it, is to be underſtood, and in the latter φειρῶ, or ſomething equivalent to it; and, as ὅπως leads to the Ellipſis in Exhortations, ſo μήπως leads to it in Prohibitions; a remarkable Inſtance of which we find in *Homer*, where *Sarpedon* ſays to *Hector*,

Μήπως ὡς ἀψίσι λίνω ἁλόντε παναίγυ, Il. ε.
Ανδράσι δυσμενέεσσιν ἕλωρ καὶ κύριμα γένησθε,

where, by the way, the dual Number is uſed for the plural, which is not uncommon.

[q] Ευ γὰρ ἴσε ὅτι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἑλοίμην ἂν ἀντὶ ὧν ἔχω πάντων καὶ ἄλλων πολλαπλασίων. *Cyrus* with great Judgment expreſſes himſelf with ſo much warmth upon the Subject of Liberty, which he knew to be the reigning Paſſion of the People to whom he addreſſes his Diſcourſe. Whether *d'Ablancourt* found any difficulty in this Sentence, or whether he was afraid of offending the tender Ears of his Monarch with the Harſhneſs of it, I know not; but ſo it is, that he has left out every Syllable of this Period.

withſtand, for the reſt I am almoſt aſhamed to think what kind of Men you will find our Country produces. But you are [r] *Soldiers; behave yourſelves with Bravery, and, if any one of you deſires to return home, I will take care to ſend him back the Envy of his Country; but I am confident that my Behaviour will engage many of you rather to follow my Fortunes, than return home.*

GAULITES, a baniſhed *Samian*, a Man of Fidelity to *Cyrus*, being preſent, ſpoke thus; *It is ſaid by ſome, O Cy-*

[r] Ἀνθρώπους· ὑμῶν δὲ Ἀνδρῶν ὄντων. This Oppoſition between ἄνθρωποι and ἄνδρες, is finely ſupported in *Herodotus*, where he ſays, that *Leonidas*, and his four thouſand *Greeks*, having repulſed the *Perſians* in ſeveral Attacks at *Thermopylæ*, made it plain to all the World, that they were many Men but few Soldiers, δῆλον ἐποίευν — ὅτι πολλοὶ μὲν ἄνθρωποι εἶεν, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἄνδρες: I am apt to think our Author had that Paſſage of *Herodotus* in his Eye upon this occaſion. This Oppoſition is preſerved in *Latin* by *homines* & *viri*, of which *Hutchinſon* and *Leunclavius* have very properly taken advantage in rendering this Paſſage: I imagine *d'Ablancourt* thought his Language would not ſupport this diſtinction, having left out the whole Paſſage: But I do not ſee why the Oppoſition which his Language allows between *des Hommes* and *des Soldats*, might not have encouraged him to attempt it. There is a fine Inſtance of that Oppoſition in a very beautiful, though a very partial Writer of his Nation, Father *d'Orleans*, where, ſpeaking of the *French* Army at the ever memorable Battle of *Crecy*, he ſays, *les François avoient beaucoup de Troupes & point d'armée, grand multitude d'Hommes & peu de Soldats, des Rois à leur tête, & point de Chefs.*

Herodotus *in* Polyhymnia.

Cyrus! *that you promiſe many things now, becauſe you are in ſuch imminent Danger, which, upon any Succeſs, you will not remember; and by others, that, though you ſhould remember your Promiſes, and deſire to perform them, it will not be in your power.* Cyrus then replied; *Gentlemen! my* [s] *paternal Kingdom to the South, reaches as far as thoſe Climates that are uninhabitable through Heat, and to the North, as far as thoſe that are ſo through Cold: Every thing between is under the Government of my Brother's Friends; and, if we conquer, it becomes me to put you, who are my Friends, in poſſeſſion of it; ſo that I am under no apprehenſion, if we ſucceed, leſt I ſhould not have enough to beſtow on each of my Friends; I only fear, leſt I ſhould not have Fricnds enough, on whom to beſtow it: But*

to

[s] Η ἀρχὴ ἡ πατρῴα. *Plutarch* has given us the Subſtance of a moſt magnificent Letter, written by *Cyrus*, to the *Lacedæmonians*, deſiring their Aſſiſtance againſt his Brother; he there tells them, that, *if the Men, they ſend him, are Foot, he will give them Horſes; if Horſemen, Chariots; if they have Country Houſes, he will give them Villages; if Villages, Cities; and that they ſhall receive their Pay by Meaſure, and not by Tale.* Οἷς ἔφη δώσειν, ἐὰν μὲν πεζοὶ παρῶσιν, ἵππους· ἐὰν δὲ ἱππεῖς, συνωρίδας· ἐὰν δὲ ἀγροὺς ἔχωσι, κώμας· ἐὰν δὲ κώμας, πόλεις· μισθῷ δὲ τοῖς στρατευομένοις οὐ καὶ ριθμὸν, ἀλλὰ μέτρον ἔσεσθαι. This Letter ſeems to be full of the ſame eaſtern Faſt, with the Speech *Cyrus* makes to the *Greeks* upon this occaſion. Plutarch *in* Artaxerxes.

to each of you Greeks, *beſides what I have mentioned, I promiſe a Crown of Gold.* Hereupon, the Officers eſpouſed his Cauſe with greater Alacrity, and made their Report to the reſt; after which, the *Greek* Generals, and ſome of the private Men, came to him to know what they had to expect, if they were victorious; all whom he ſent away big with hopes; and all who were admitted, adviſed him not to engage perſonally, but to ſtand in the Rear: *Clearchus* himſelf put this Queſtion to him; *Are you of Opinion, O* Cyrus! *that your Brother will hazard a Battle?* Certainly, anſwered *Cyrus: If he is the Son of* Darius *and* Paryſatis, *and my Brother, I ſhall never obtain all this without a ſtroke.*

WHILE the Soldiers were accompliſhing themſelves for the Action, the number of the *Greeks* was found to amount to ten thouſand four hundred [t] heavy-armed Men, and two thouſand four

[t] Ἀσπὶς. Ἀσπὶς is taken here in the ſame Senſe *Suidas* gives it, ἡ τάξις, that is ἀσπισαι, which is very properly explained by the Scholiaſt upon theſe Words of *Homer*,

Il. Δ. κρατερὰι ϛίχες ἀσπιϛάων λαῶν,

by πιζῶν, ὁπλιτῶν, heavy-armed Men.

four hundred Targeteers; and that of the *Barbarians* in the Service of *Cyrus*, to one hundred thouſand Men, with about twenty [u] Chariots armed with Scythes. The Enemy's Army was ſaid to conſiſt of twelve hundred thouſand Men, and two hundred Chariots armed with Scythes, beſides ſix thouſand Horſe, under the Command of *Artagerſes*, all which were drawn up before the King, whoſe Army was commanded by four Generals, Commanders and Leaders, *Abrocomas*, *Tiſſaphernes*, *Gobryas*, and *Arbaces*, who had each the command of three hundred thouſand Men; but of this Number, nine hundred thouſand only were preſent at the Battle, together with one hundred and fifty Chariots armed with Scythes; for, *Abrocomas* coming out of *Phœnicia*, arrived five Days after the Action. This was the Account the Deſerters gave to *Cyrus* before the Battle, which was afterwards

[u] Αρματα δρεπανηφόρα. *Xenophon* in his *Cyropædia*, aſcribes the Invention of theſe Chariots armed with Scythes to the firſt *Cyrus*: though *Diodorus Siculus*, from *Cteſias*, ſays *Ninus* had great Numbers of them in his Expedition againſt the *Bactrians*: It is certain they were not in uſe in the *Trojan* War, for which reaſon *Arrian*, in his *Tactics*, oppoſes ἅρματα Γραϊκὰ to Περσικὰ, as he does ψιλὰ to δρεπανηφόρα.

Xenop. *in* Κύρου παιδεία. 6 *B.* Diod. Sic. 2 *B.* Arrian *in his Tact.*

wards confirmed by the Priſoners. From thence *Cyrus*, in one day's march, made three Paraſangas, all his Forces, both *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, marching in Order of Battle; becauſe he expected the King would fight that day; for, in the middle of their March, there was a Trench cut five Fathom broad, and three deep; extending twelve Paraſangas upwards, traverſing the Plain as far as the Wall of *Media*. In this Plain are four [x] Canals derived from the River *Tigris*; being each one hundred Feet in breadth, and deep enough for Barges laden with Corn, to ſail therein: they fall into the *Euphrates*; and are diſtant from one another one Paraſanga, having Bridges over them.

THE great King, hearing *Cyrus* was marching againſt him, immediately cauſ-

[x] Αἱ διώρυχες ἀπὸ τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ ῥέουσαι. *Arrian* differs very much from our Author, in relation to theſe Canals; he ſays, that the Level of the *Tigris* is much lower than that of the *Euphrates*, and conſequently all the Canals that run from the one to the other, are derived from the *Euphrates*, and fall into the *Tigris*. In this, he is ſupported by *Strabo* and *Pliny*, who ſay, that in the Spring, when the Snows melt upon the Hills of *Armenia*, the *Euphrates* would overflow the adjacent Country, if the Inhabitants did not cut great numbers of Canals to receive and circulate this Increaſe of Water, in the ſame manner as the *Egyptians* diſtribute that of the *Nile*.

Arrian, 7 *B.* ἀνάβασις Ἀλεξάνδρου

Strabo, 16 *B.* Pl. Nat. Hiſt. 5 *B.*

cauſed a Trench to be made, (by way of Fortification,) near the *Euphrates*; cloſe to which alſo, there was a narrow Paſs, through which *Cyrus* and his Army marched, and came within the Trench; when, finding the King did not engage that day, by the many Tracks that appeared both of Horſes and Men which were retreated, he ſent for *Silanus*, the Soothſayer of *Ambracia*, and (agreeable to his promiſe) gave him three thouſand *Daricks*, becauſe the eleventh Day before that, when he was offering Sacrifice, he told *Cyrus*, the King would not fight within ten Days; upon which, *Cyrus* ſaid, "*If he does not fight within that time, he will not fight at all; and, if what you ſay proves true, I'll give you* [y] *ten Talents.*" Since therefore the King had ſuffered the Army of *Cyrus* to march through this Paſs unmoleſted, both *Cyrus* and the reſt concluded that he had given over all Thoughts of fighting; ſo that the next day *Cyrus* marched with leſs Circumſpection; and the third day, rode on his Car,

[y] Δέκα τάλαντα. By this it appears, as *Hutchinſon* has obſerved, that three thouſand *Daricks*, and ten *Talents*, were of equal Value. See note [m], page 9.

Car, very few marching before him in their Ranks; great part of the Soldiers obſerved no Order, many of their Arms being carried in Waggons, and upon ſumpter Horſes.

IT was now about the time of Day, [z] when the Market is uſually crowded, the Army being near the place, where they propoſed to encamp, when *Patagyas*, a *Perſian*, one of thoſe whom *Cyrus* moſt confided in, was ſeen riding towards them full ſpeed, his Horſe all in a Sweat; and he calling to every one he met, both in his own Language, and in *Greek*, that the King was at hand with a vaſt Army, march-

[z] Ἀμφὶ ἀγορὰν πλήθουσαν. It is very common with the *Greek* Authors to denote the time of the Day by the Employment of it: Thus περὶ λύχνων ἀφὰς is often uſed by *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis* to ſignify the Evening, and ἀμφὶ πλήθουσαν ἀγορὰν, as *Kuſter* has proved in his Notes upon *Suidas*, what they called the third Hour, that is, nine o'Clock with us. Poſſibly πλήθουσα ἀγορὰ may not improperly be rendered in *Engliſh* Full Change. There is a very particular Deſcription of the Evening in the *Odyſſey*, where *Ulyſſes* ſays he hung upon the wild Fig-Tree, 'till *Charybdis* had caſt up his Raft, which appeared at the time, when the Judge left the Bench, to go to Supper,

Odyſſ. M. ——Ἦμος δ' ἐπὶ δόρπον ἀνὴρ ἀγορῆθεν ἀνίστη,
Κρίνων νείκεα πολλὰ δικαζομένων ἀϊζηῶν,
Ἦμος δὴ τότε δῦρα Χαρύβδιος ἐξεφαάνθη.

marching in Order of Battle; which occaſioned a general Confuſion among the *Greeks*, all expecting he would charge them, before they had put themſelves in Order: but *Cyrus* leaping from his Car, put on his Corſlet, then mounting his Horſe, took his Javelins in his Hand, ordered all the reſt to arm, and every Man to take his Poſt; by virtue of which Command they quickly formed themſelves, *Clearchus* on the right Wing, cloſe to the *Euphrates*, next to him *Proxenus*, and after him the reſt: *Menon* and his Men were poſted upon the left of the *Greek* Army. Of the *Barbarians*, a thouſand *Paphlagonian* Horſe, with the *Greek* Targeteers, ſtood next to *Clearchus* on the right: upon the left, *Ariæus*, *Cyrus*'s Lieutenant-General was placed with the reſt of the *Barbarians*: they had large Corſlets, and Cuiſſes, and all of them Helmets but *Cyrus*, who placed himſelf in the Center with ſix hundred Horſe, and ſtood ready for the Charge, with his Head unarmed; [a] in which man-

ner

[a] Λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας Πέρσας φυλακᾶς ταῖς κιφαλαῖς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ διακινδυνεύειν. *D'Ablancourt* has left out all this, unleſs he deſigned that *ſelon la coutume des Perſes* ſhould

ner, they ſay it is alſo cuſtomary for the reſt of the *Perſians* to expoſe themſelves in a day of Action: all the Horſes in *Cyrus*'s Army had both Frontlets and Breaſt-plates, and the Horſemen *Greek* Swords.

IT was now the middle of the Day, and no Enemy was yet to be ſeen; [b] but in ſhould be taken for a Tranſlation of it. I have ſaid that *Cyrus ſtood ready for the Charge with his Head unarmed*, and *not bare*, in which I have differed from all the Tranſlators, but am ſupported by *Briſſenius*, who in his third Book *de Regno Perſarum*, from whom *Hutchinſon* has taken his whole Annotation upon this Paſſage is of opinion, which he proves from *Herodotus*, that, both *Cyrus*, and the reſt of the *Perſians*, though they had no Helmets in a Day of Battle, wore however *Tiaras* upon their Heads. This is confirmed by *Plutarch*, who ſays, that in this Battle *the Tiara of* Cyrus *fell from his Head*. Beſides, ψιλὸς, which is the Word our Author uſes upon this occaſion, has a viſible relation to what goes before; after he has ſaid therefore that the ſix hundred Horſe had all Helmets but *Cyrus*, when he adds that he had ψιλὴν τὴν κεφαλὴν, he does not mean that he ſtood with his Head bare, but that he had no Helmet; in the ſame manner, when *Arrian* calls the light-armed Men ψιλὰς, he does not mean they were naked, but that they had neither Corſlets, Shields, Greaves, or Helmets, which the Reader will ſee in his own Words in note [f], page 5.

Herodotus *in* Terpſichore *and* Polyhymnia.

Plutarch *in* Artaxerxes.

[b] Ἡνίκα δὲ δείλη ἐγένετο. *Hutchinſon* quotes upon this occaſion a Paſſage out of *Dio Chryſoſtomus*, in which he divides the day into five parts; 1. πρωΐ. 2. πλήθουσαν ἀγορὰν. 3. τὰς μεσημβρίας. 4. δείλην. 5. ἑσπέραν; this

Dio Chry. περὶ δόξης.

Di-

in the Afternoon there appeared a Duſt like a white Cloud, which not long after ſpread itſelf like a Darkneſs over the Plain; when they drew nearer, the brazen Armour flaſhed, and their Spears and Ranks appeared; having on their left, a Body of Horſe armed in white Corſlets (ſaid to be commanded by *Tiſſaphernes*) and followed by thoſe with [c] *Perſian* Bucklers, beſides heavy-armed Men with wooden Shields, reaching down to their Feet, (ſaid to be *Egyptians*) and other Horſe, and Archers; all which marched [d] according to their reſpective Countries, each

Diviſion of the Day, perfectly agrees with that of *Xenophon*; and, as πληθουσα ἀγορὰ is the middle Hour between the Morning and Noon, ſo δειλη will be the middle Hour between that and the Evening, that is, three o'Clock.

[c] Γερροφόροι. Περσικὰ μέν τινα ὅπλα τὰ γέρρα ἐστί. *Harpocration.* This kind of Buckler is alſo mentioned by *Homer* in the following Verſe,

Τῇ δ' ἑτέρῃ σάκος εὖρυ, γέρον πεπαλαγμένον ἄζῃ. Homer Odyſſ. χ.

where *Euſtathius* explains γέρρα by ἀσπίδες Περσικαὶ ἐκ λύγων, *Perſian* Bucklers made of Wickers.

[d] Κατὰ ἔθνη. This ſeems to have been cuſtomary among the *Perſians*; for we find in *Herodotus*, that, in the prodigious Army, with which *Xerxes* invaded *Greece*, each Nation was drawn up by itſelf, κατὰ ἔθνεα διετάσσοντο. Herodotus in Polyhymnia.

each Nation being drawn up in a [c] ſolid oblong ſquare; and before them were diſpoſed at a conſiderable diſtance from one another, Chariots armed with Scythes fixed aſlant at the Axle-Trees, with others under the [f] Body of the Chariot, pointing downwards, that ſo they might cut aſunder every thing they encountered, by driving them among the Ranks of the *Greeks*, to break them; but it now appeared that *Cyrus* was greatly miſtaken when he exhorted the *Greeks* to withſtand the Shouts of the *Barbarians*; for they did not come on with Shouts, but as ſilently and quietly as poſſible, and in an equal and ſlow march. Here *Cyrus*, riding

[c] Ἐν πλαισίῳ. As πλαίσιον and πλινθίον are Diſpoſitions often mentioned by *Xenophon* and other *Greek* Authors, it may not be amiſs to ſhew the difference between them. They are thus defined by *Arrian* in his *Tactics*, πλαίσιον ὁπλίζεται, ὁπόταν πρὸς πάσας τὰς πλευρὰς παρατάξηται τις ἐν ἑτερομήκει σχήματι· πλινθίον δὲ, ὅταν ἐν τετραγώνῳ σχήματι αὐτό τοῦτο πράξῃ, (rather πραχθῇ;) ſo that πλαίσιον is an oblong Square, and πλινθίον an equilateral Square: Had *D'Ablancourt* attended to this, he would not have tranſlated ἐν πλαισίῳ, *avec autant de Front que de Hauteur*.

[f] Ὑπὸ τοῖς δίφροις. The Grammarians derive δίφρος from δύο φορός, becauſe both the ἡνίοχος, the Charioteer, and the παραβάτης, the Soldier, late in the body of the Chariot. This Hint may be of uſe to Hiſtory-Painters, who oftentimes place the Charioteer upon a Seat by himſelf, in the modern way.

riding along the Ranks with *Pigres* the Interpreter, and three or four others, commanded *Clearchus* to bring his Men oppoſite to the Center of the Enemy, (becauſe the King was there) ſaying, *if we break that, our Work is done:* but *Clearchus*, obſerving their Center, and underſtanding from *Cyrus* that the King was beyond the left Wing of the *Greek* Army, (for the King was ſo much ſuperior in number, that, when he ſtood in the Center of his own Army, he was beyond the left Wing to that of *Cyrus*) *Clearchus*, I ſay, would not however be prevailed on to withdraw his right from the River, fearing to be ſurrounded on both ſides; but anſwered *Cyrus*, *he would take care all ſhould go well.*

Now the *Barbarians* came regularly on; and the *Greek* Army ſtanding on the ſame Ground, the Ranks were formed, as the Men came up; in the mean time, *Cyrus* riding at a ſmall diſtance before the Ranks, ſurveying both the Enemy's Army and his own, was obſerved by *Xenophon* an *Athenian*, who rode up to him, and aſked whether he had

any

any thing to command; *Cyrus*, ſtopping his Horſe, ordered him to let them all know, that the [g] *Sacrifices* and *Victims* promiſed ſucceſs. While he was ſaying this, upon hearing a noiſe running through the Ranks, he aſked him what meant it? *Xenophon* anſwered, that the Word was now giving for the ſecond time; *Cyrus*, wondering who ſhould give it, aſked him what the Word *was*; the other replied, [h] *Jupiter the Preſerver*, and *Victory*: *Cyrus* replied, *I accept it, let That be the Word*: After which, he immediately returned to his Poſt, and the two Armies being now within three or four Stadia of each other, [i] the *Grecks* ſung the *Pæan*, and

[g] Τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τὰ σφάγια. The laſt of theſe properly ſignifies *Victims*, though I am ſenſible the firſt is ſometimes taken alſo for ἱερεῖα; but in this place I ſhould rather think it means ſome religious Rites, upon which, Conjectures were formed of future Events.

Dion Caſſius, 47 *B.*

[h] Ζεὺς Σωτὴρ καὶ Νίκη. *Dion Caſſius* tells us, that at the Battle of *Philippi*, *Brutus*'s Word was Ἐλευθερία, *Libertas*; at the Battle of *Pharſalia*, *Caſar*'s Word was Ἀφροδίτη νικήσασα, *Venus victrix*; and that of *Pompey*, Ἡρακλῆς ἀνίκητος, *Hercules invictus*.

[i] Ἐπαιάνιζον οἱ Ἕλληνες. *Achilles*, after he has ſlain *Hector*, ſays thus to his Men, in *Homer*,

Homer Il. χ.

Νῦν δ' ἄγ' ἀείδοντες Παιήονα, κοῦροι Ἀχαιῶν,
Νηῦσιν ἐπὶ γλαφυρῇσι νεώμεθα ———

Whence

and began to advance againſt the Enemy; but the Motion occaſioning a ſmall [k]Fluctuation in the Line of Battle, thoſe who were left behind, haſtened their march, and at once, gave a general [l]Shout, as their Cuſtom is when they invoke the God of War, and all ran forward, ſtriking their Shields with their Pikes (as ſome ſay) to frighten the Enemy's Horſes; ſo that, before the *Barbarians* came within reach of their Darts, they turned their Horſes and fled, but the *Greeks* purſued them as faſt as they could, calling out to one another not to run, but to follow in their Ranks: ſome of the Chariots were borne through their own People without their Charioteers, others through the *Greeks*, ſome of

Whence the *Greek* Scholiaſt obſerves, that, the Ancients ſung two *Pæans*; the firſt before the Battle, to *Mars*; and the ſecond after it, to *Apollo*.

[k] Ἐξεκύμαινέ τι τῆς Φάλαγγος. This Expreſſion is celebrated by *Demetrius Phalareus*, as an Inſtance of the Beauty which Metaphors give, when they deſcend from greater things to ſmaller. *Sect.* 85.

[l] Ἐλελίζουσι. Ἐλελεῦ, ἐπιφώνημα πολεμικὸν. *Heſychius.* From thence comes ἐλελίζω. I am at a loſs to gueſs what *D'Ablancourt* means by tranſlating this, *comme on fait dans les ſolennitez de Mars.*

of whom seeing them coming, [m] divided; while others being amazed, like Spectators in the [n] Hippodrome, were taken un-

[m] Οἱ δὲ, ἐπεὶ προϊδοιεν, ἵσαντο. *Hutchinson* has employed his whole Annotation upon this Passage in shewing, that οἱ δὲ in this place signifies τινὲς, which to be sure is so; but he has said nothing of a much greater difficulty that occurs in it: If we are to read ἵσαντο in this place, as all the Translators have rendered it, the Sense will be, that, when the *Greeks* saw the Chariots coming towards them, they stood still, which sure was not the way to avoid them. I find in *Leunclavius*'s Edition the word διίσαντο in the Margin, and also in the *Eton* Manuscript, quoted by *Hutchinson* in his Addenda though neither of them have followed it in their Translations, or said any thing to support it; however, I make no doubt but this is the proper Reading, and then the Sense will be very plain; the *Greeks* avoided the Chariots, by dividing. This is confirmed by a Passage in *Arrian*, which fully explains that before us. At the Battle of *Arbela*, or, as he will have it, of *Gaugamela*, *Darius* had placed before his left Wing one hundred of these Chariots armed with Scythes, which proved of no greater effect than those of *Artaxerxes*; for *Alexander*, who was upon the right of his own Army, and consequently opposite to the Chariots, had ordered his Men to divide, when they saw them coming, which they did accordingly, and by that means, rendered them ineffectual. But the Words of *Arrian* are the best Comment upon this Passage, which it is probable he had in view, ἔστι δὲ ἃ καὶ διεξέπεσε διὰ τῶν τάξεων. διέσχον γὰρ, ὥσπερ παρηγγέλτο αὐτοῖς, ἵνα προσεπίπτε τὰ ἅρματα.

Arrian, 3 *B. Exp.* Alex.

[n] Ἐν ἱπποδρόμῳ. This Word is used also by *Homer*, to signify the Place where the Chariots ran, the Lists.

Il. ψ. ——— λείῃ δ' ἱπποδρόμῳ ἐμάσσαμεν.

At the Battle of *Iburium*, were *Sylla* defeated *Archelaus*, one of the Generals of *Mithridates*, the *Roman* Soldiers treated these Chariots armed with Scythes, with so great

unawares; but even theſe were reported to have received no harm, neither was there any other *Greek* hurt in the Action, except one upon the left Wing, who was ſaid to have been wounded by an Arrow.

CYRUS ſeeing the *Greeks* victorious on their ſide, rejoiced in purſuit of the Enemy, and was already worſhipped as King by thoſe about him; however, he was not ſo far tranſported as to leave his Poſt, and join in the Purſuit: but, keeping his ſix hundred Horſe in a Body, obſerved the King's Motions; well knowing that he was in the Center of the *Perſian* Army; [o] for in all *Barbarian* Armies, the Generals ever place themſelves in the Center, looking upon that Poſt

Contempt, that, after the firſt which were ſent againſt them had proved ineffectual, as if they had been Spectators of a Chariot-Race, they called out for more, ἄλλα ἅρμα, as *Plutarch* ſays, ὥσπερ ἐιωθασιν ἐν ταῖς θεατρικαῖς ἱπποδρομίαις. Plutarch *in* Sylla.

[o] Καὶ πάντες δὲ οἱ τῶν Βαρβάρων ἄρχοντες μέσον ἔχοντες τὸ αὐτῶν ἤγοντο. Thus *Arrian* tells us, that *Darius* placed himſelf in the Center of his Army at the Battle of *Iſſus*, according to the Cuſtom of the Kings of *Perſia*; the reaſon of which Cuſtom, he ſays, *Xenophon* aſſigns in the Paſſage now before us. Arrian 2 *B. Exp.* Alex.

Poſt as the ſafeſt, on each ſide of which their Strength is equally divided; and, if they have occaſion to give out any Orders, they are received in half the time by the Army. The King therefore being at that time in the Center of his own Battle, was however beyond the left Wing of *Cyrus*; and, when he ſaw none oppoſed him in front, nor any Motion made to charge the Troops that were drawn up before him, he wheeled to the left, in order to ſurround their Army; whereupon, *Cyrus* fearing he ſhould get behind him, and cut off the *Greeks*, advanced againſt the King, and charging with his ſix hundred Horſe, broke thoſe who were drawn up before him, put the ſix thouſand Men to flight, and, as they ſay, killed *Artagerſes*, their Commander, with his own hand.

THESE being broken, and the ſix hundred belonging to *Cyrus* diſperſed in the Purſuit, very few were left about him, and thoſe almoſt all Perſons who uſed to eat at his Table; however, upon dif-

[p] diſcovering the King, properly attended, and, unable to contain himſelf, immediately cried out, *I ſee the Man*; then ran furiouſly at him, and, ſtriking him on the Breaſt, wounded him through his Corſlet, (as *Cteſias* the Phyſician ſays, who affirms that he cured the Wound) having while he was giving the Blow, received a wound under the Eye, from ſomebody, who threw a Javelin at him with great force; at the ſame time, the King and *Cyrus* engaged hand to hand, and thoſe about them, in defence of each. In this Action *Cteſias*, (who was with the King) informs us how many fell on

[p] I cannot help tranſlating a very fine Paſſage in *Plutarch* in his Life of *Artaxerxes*, where he excuſes himſelf for not entering into the Detail of this Battle, becauſe *Xenophon* had already deſcribed it in ſo maſterly a Stile, that he thinks it folly to attempt it after him; he ſays, that *many Authors have given an Account of this memorable Action, but that* Xenophon *almoſt ſhews it, and, by the Clearneſs of his Expreſſion, makes his Reader aſſiſt with Emotion at every Incident, and partake of every Danger, as if the Action was not paſt, but preſent*: However, that I may neither rob *Xenophon* of the Praiſe *Plutarch* gives him, or *Plutarch* of his manner of giving it, I ſhall tranſcribe the whole Paſſage, τὴν δὲ μαχὴν ἐκείνην, ſays *Plutarch*, πολλῶν μὲν ἀπηγγελκότων, Ξενοφῶντι δὲ μονονυχὶ δεδικυῖαν ὄψει, καὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν, ὡς ἡ γεγενημένοις, ἀλλὰ γινομένοις, ἐφίσαντι τὸν ἀκροατὰν ἐν παθει, καὶ συγκινδυνεύοντα, διὰ τὴν ἐνάργειαν, οὐκ ἔστι νῦν ἔχοντι ἐπιξηγεῖσθαι, πλὴν ὅσα τῶν ἀξίων λόγη. The ſame Author calls the Place where this Battle was fought, *Cunaxa*.

on his ſide; on the other, *Cyrus* himſelf was killed, and eight of his moſt conſiderable Friends [q] lay dead upon him. When *Artapates*, who was in the greateſt Truſt with *Cyrus* of any of his ſceptred Miniſters, ſaw him fall, they ſay, he leaped from his Horſe, and threw himſelf about him; when, (as ſome ſay) the King ordered him to be ſlain upon the Body of *Cyrus*; though others aſſert, that, drawing his Scimitar, he ſlew himſelf; for, he wore a golden Scimitar, a Chain, Bracelets, and other Ornaments, which are worn by the moſt conſiderable *Perſians*; and was held in great eſteem by *Cyrus*, both for his Affection and Fidelity.

THUS died *Cyrus!* a Man univerſally acknowledged by thoſe who were well acquainted with him, to have been, of all the *Perſians* ſince the ancient *Cyrus*, indued with the moſt princely Qualities, and

[q] Κεῖντο ἐπ' αὐτῷ. I am ſo much pleaſed with the reaſon *d'Ablancourt* gives for not tranſlating theſe Words, that I muſt mention it; he ſays *le Grec dit, qui ſe firent tous tüer ſur lui, mais celà eſt répété enſuite dans ſon Eloge, & j'avois beſoin de cette Expreſſion là dix lignes aprés.* There is a Frankneſs in this Acknowledgement that has more merit in it, than the beſt Tranſlation.

and the moſt worthy of Empire. Firſt, while he was yet a Child, and educated with his Brother, and other Children, he was looked upon as ſuperior to them All in all things: For all the Children of the great Men in *Perſia* are brought up [r] at Court, where they have an opportunity of learning great Modeſty, and where nothing immodeſt is ever heard or ſeen. There the Children have conſtantly before their Eyes, thoſe who are honoured and diſgraced by the King, and hear the Reaſons of both: So that, while they are Children, they preſently learn to command, as well as to obey: *Cyrus* was obſerved to have more Docility than any of his Years, and to ſhew more Submiſſion to thoſe of an advanced Age, than any other Children, though of a Condition inferior to his own; he was alſo obſerved to excel not only in his Love of Horſes, but in his Management of them; and in thoſe Exerciſes that relate to War, ſuch as Archery and lancing of Darts, they found him the moſt de-

[r] Ἐν ταῖς βασιλέως θύραις παιδεύονται. Litterally at the Door of the King, concerning which, ſee note [l], page 20.

desirous to learn, and the most indefatigable. When in the Flower of his Age; he was, of all others, the fondest of Hunting, and in hunting, of Danger: And once, when a Bear rushed upon him, he did not decline the Encounter, but closed with her, and was torn from his Horse, when he received those Wounds, of which he ever after wore the Scars; at last he killed the Bear, and the Person, who first ran to his assistance, he made a happy Man in the eyes of all that knew him.

WHEN he was sent by his Father Governor of *Lydia*, the greater *Phrygia*, and *Cappadocia*, and was declared General of all those who are obliged to assemble in the Plain of *Castolus*, the first thing he did was to shew, that, if he entered into a League, engaged in a Contract, or made a Promise, his greatest Care was never to deceive; for which reason both the Cities that belonged to his Government, and private Men, placed a Confidence in him: And, if any one had been his Enemy, and *Cyrus* had made Peace with him, he was under no apprc-

prehenſion of ſuffering by a Violation of it: So that, when he made war againſt *Tiſſaphernes*, all the Cities, beſides *Miletus*, willingly declared for him: And theſe were afraid of him, becauſe he would not deſert their baniſhed Citizens; for he ſhewed by his Actions, as well as his Words, that, after he had once given them aſſurance of his Friendſhip, he would never abandon them, though their Number ſhould yet diminiſh, and their Condition be yet impaired. It was evident that he made it his endeavour to out-do his Friends in good, and his Enemies in ill Offices; and it was reported that he wiſhed to live ſo long, as to be able to overcome them both, in [s] returning both. There was no one Man therefore of our Time, to whom ſuch numbers of People were ambitious of

[s] Αλεξόμενος. It is to be obſerved that ἀλέξασθαι, in this place, ſignifies, to reward and to revenge; both which Significations, this Word admits of. Αλέξησις, βοήθεια καὶ ἀντίτισις. *Heſychius.* Αμύνεσθαι is uſed in the ſame manner by *Thucydides*, where *Hermocrates* of *Syracuſe* tells the Inhabitants of *Sicily*, τὸν εὖ καὶ κακῶς δρῶντα ἐξ ἴσου ἀμύνεσθαι, where ἀμυνώμεθα is thus explained by the *Greek* Scholiaſt, ἐντᾶυθα ἐπὶ τῶν δύο σημασιῶν εἴλαξεν αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ καλοῦ, καὶ ἐπὶ κακοῦ. Thucydides 4 B.

of delivering up their Fortunes, their Cities, and their Perſons.

NEITHER can it be ſaid, that he ſuffered Malefactors and Robbers to triumph; for to theſe he was of all Men, the moſt inexorable. It was no uncommon thing to ſee ſuch Men in the great Roads deprived of their Feet, their Hands, and their Eyes; ſo that any Perſon, whether *Greek* or *Barbarian*, might travel whitherſoever he pleaſed, and with whatſoever he pleaſed, through the Country under his Command, and provided he did no Injury, be ſure of receiving none. It is univerſally acknowledged that he honoured, in a particular manner, thoſe who diſtinguiſhed themſelves in Arms. His firſt Expedition was againſt the *Piſidians* and *Myſians*; which he commanded in Perſon, and thoſe whom he obſerved forward to expoſe themſelves, he appointed Governors over the conquered Countries, and diſtinguiſhed them by other Preſents; ſo that 'brave men were looked upon as moſt for-

' Ὥστε φαίνεσθαι τὴς μὲν ἀγαθὴς, εὐδαιμονεστάτυς, τὺς δὲ κακὺς, δήλυς τύτων ἀξιυσθαι. *D'Ablancourt* has not taken the

fortunate, and Cowards as deſerving to be their Slaves; for which reaſon, great numbers preſented themſelves to danger, where they expected *Cyrus* would take notice of them.

As for Juſtice, if any Perſon was remarkable for a particular regard to it, his chief care was, that ſuch a one ſhould enjoy a greater Affluence than thoſe, who aimed at raiſing their Fortunes by unjuſt means. Among many other Inſtances therefore of the Juſtice of his Adminiſtration, this was one, that he had an Army which truly deſerved that Name, for the Officers did not come to him from Countries on the other ſide of the Sea, for Gain, but, becauſe they were ſenſible that a ready Obedience to *Cyrus*'s Commands was of greater Advantage to them, than their monthly Pay; and indeed, if any one was punctual in the execution of his Orders, he never ſuffered his Diligence to go unrewarded; for which reaſon, it is ſaid, that *Cyrus* was the

the leaſt notice of theſe Lines in his Tranſlation; if the Reader will give himſelf the trouble of comparing his Verſion with the Original in this Character of *Cyrus*, he will find many Omiſſions, as well as ſtrange Liberties.

the beſt ſerved of any Prince in all his Enterprizes. If he obſerved any Gover-nor of a Province joining the moſt exact Oeconomy with Juſtice, improving his Country, and encreaſing his Revenue, he never took any ſhare of theſe Advantages to himſelf but added more to them; ſo that they laboured with Chearfulneſs, enriched themſelves with Confidence, and never concealed their Poſſeſſions from *Cyrus*, who was never known to envy thoſe who owned themſelves to be rich; but endeavoured to make uſe of the Riches of all who concealed them. It is univerſally acknowledged, that he poſſeſſ-ed, in an eminent degree, the Art of cul-tivating thoſe of his Friends, whoſe Good-will to him he was aſſured of, and whom he looked upon as proper In-ſtruments to aſſiſt him in accompliſhing any thing he propoſed; as an acknow-ledgement for which, he endeavoured to ſhew himſelf a moſt powerful Aſſiſtant to them in every thing he found they deſired.

As, upon many accounts, he received, in my opinion, more Preſents than any one Man, ſo, of all Men living, he diſtri-buted

buted them to his Friends, with the greateſt Generoſity, and in this Diſtribution conſulted both the Taſte, and the Wants of every one. And, as for thoſe Ornaments of his Perſon that were preſented to him, either as of uſe in War, or Embelliſhments to Dreſs, he is ſaid to have expreſſed this Senſe of them, that it was not poſſible for him to wear them all, but that he looked upon a Prince's Friends, when richly dreſſed, as his greateſt Ornament. However, it is not ſo much to be wondered at, that, being of greater Ability than his Friends, he ſhould out-do them in the Magnificence of his Favours; but, that he ſhould ſurpaſs them in his Care and his Earneſtneſs to oblige, is, in my opinion, more worthy of Admiration. He frequently ſent his Friends ſmall "Veſſels half full of Wine, when he received any that was remarkably good, letting them know, that he had not for a long time taſted any that was more delicious; beſides which he alſo frequently ſent them half Geeſe, and half Loaves,

" Βίκος. Βίκος, κάμνος ὥτα ἔχων. *Heſychius.* It was a Wine Veſſel.

Loaves, &c. ordering the Perſon who carried them to ſay, *Cyrus* liked theſe things, for which reaſon he deſires you alſo to taſte of them. Where Forage was very ſcarce, and he, by the Number and Care of his Servants, had an opportunity of being ſupplied with it, he ſent to his Friends, deſiring they would give the Horſes, that were for their own riding, their ſhare of it, to the end they might not be oppreſſed with Hunger, when they carried his Friends. When he appeared in publick upon any occaſion, where he knew many People would have their eyes upon him, he uſed to call his Friends to him, and affected to diſcourſe [x] earneſtly with them, that he might

[x] Εσπουδαιολογεῖτο. *Hutchinſon* has rendered this *gravibus de rebus ſermonem habebat*, which is, no doubt, the general Senſe of the *Greek* Word, but does not, in my Opinion, explain that which our Author has given it in this place. The Subject of the Diſcourſe between *Cyrus* and his Friends, was of little conſequence to let the Spectators know how much he honoured them, his manner of converſing with them could only do it; and, as σπουδὴ ſignifies Earneſtneſs in the manner of ſpeaking, as well as the Serioufneſs of the Subject, I thought proper to give it that Senſe in the Tranſlation. This puts me in mind of a practice of ſome Perſons of Quality in *Scotland*, when King *Charles* the Firſt made a Progreſs thither; my Lord *Clarendon* ſays, that, in order to render themſelves conſiderable in the Eyes of their Countrymen

might ſhew whom he honoured. So that by all I have heard, no Man, either of the *Greeks* or *Barbarians*, ever deſerved more eſteem from his Subjects: this, among others, is a remarkable Inſtance: No one ever deſerted from *Cyrus*, though a Subject, to the King; *Orontas* alone attempted it, [y] yet he ſoon found, that the Perſon on whoſe Fidelity he depended, was more a Friend to *Cyrus* than to him: many who had been moſt in favour with *Cyrus*, came over to him from the King after the War broke out between them, with this Expectation, that in the Service of *Cyrus* their Merit would be more worthily rewarded than in that of the King. What happened alſo to him at his Death, made it evident, that

men, they uſed to whiſper the King, when he appeared in Publick, though the Subject of thoſe Whiſpers was often of very little conſequence. I have known ſome Men of Gallantry ſo happy in this practice, that, upon no other foundation than the Art of whiſpering Trifles, they have been thought to be well with Women of Diſtinction, which poſſibly was all they aimed at.

[y] Ουτος δὲ, &c. The *Latin* Tranſlators have rendered this Parentheſis, as if ἀυτος related to the King, for which I think there is no foundation: I have underſtood it of *Orontas*, who entruſted a Perſon, in whom he thought he might confide, with his Letter to the King, but ſoon found to his Coſt, that he was more attached to *Cyrus*, than to him.

that he was not only himſelf a good Man, but that he knew how to make choice of thoſe, who were faithful, affectionate, and conſtant; even when he was killed, all his Friends and his [z] Favourites died fighting for him, except *Ariæus*, who, being appointed to the Command of the Horſe on the left Wing, as ſoon as he heard that *Cyrus* was killed, fled with all that Body which was under his Command.

WHEN *Cyrus* was dead, his Head and right Hand were cut off upon the ſpot, and the King, with his Men, in the Purſuit, broke into his Camp; while thoſe with *Ariæus* no longer made a ſtand, but fled through their own Camp to their former Poſt, which was ſaid to be four Paraſangas from the Field of Battle. The King, with his Forces, among many other things, took *Cyrus*'s Miſtreſs, a [a] *Phocæan*, who was ſaid to be a Woman of

[z] Συσσίτους. Properly thoſe who eat at his Table.

Plutarch, *Lives of Pericles and Artaxerxes.*

[a] Τὴν φωκαΐδα. As this favourite Miſtreſs of *Cyrus* was afterwards very near being the Cauſe of a Revolution in the *Perſian* Empire, it may not be amiſs to give ſome Account of her. She was of *Phocæa* in *Ionia*, (the Mother-City of *Marſeilles*, and the Daughter of *Hermotymus*,

of great Senſe and Beauty. The other, a *Mileſian*, who was the younger of the two, was alſo taken by the King's Troops, but eſcaped naked to the Quarter of the *Greeks*, who were left to guard the Baggage.

notymus, her Name *Milto*; ſhe was Miſtreſs of ſo much Wit and Beauty, that *Cyrus*, who was very fond of her, called her *Aſpaſia*, from *Aſpaſia*, the Miſtreſs of the great *Pericles*, who was ſo much celebrated for thoſe Accompliſhments. After the Death of *Cyrus*, ſhe was in the ſame degree of favour with his Brother *Artaxerxes*, whoſe eldeſt Son *Darius* had ſo unfortunate a Paſſion for her, that, upon his being declared by his Father Succeſſor to the Crown, when, it ſeems, it was cuſtomary for the Succeſſor to aſk ſome Favour of the King, which was never refuſed, if poſſible to be granted, he demanded *Aſpaſia*: The King, though beſides his Wife *Atoſſa*, he had three hundred and ſixty Ladies in his Seraglio, one for every Night, according to the old *Babylonian* Year, yet was unwilling to part with *Aſpaſia*, though ſhe was now far from being young; ſo told his Son that ſhe was Miſtreſs of herſelf, and, if ſhe conſented to be his, he ſhould not oppoſe it, but forbid him to uſe Violence. It ſeems this Caution was unneceſſary, for *Aſpaſia* declared in favour of the Son, which ſo diſpleaſed *Artaxerxes*, that, though he was under a neceſſity of yielding her to *Darius*, yet he ſhortly after took her from him, and made her a Prieſteſs of *Diana*. This exaſperated *Darius* to that degree, that he conſpired with *Tiribazus* to put his Father to death; but his Deſign being diſcovered, ended in his own Deſtruction. After this ſhort Account of *Aſpaſia*'s Adventures, I believe the Reader will ſmile to find her called *la Belle* and *la Sage* by *D'Ablancourt*: She was the occaſion of ſo much miſchief, that I am perſuaded even the *Perſian* Ladies could not refuſe her the firſt of theſe Qualities; but there is little room to call her *chaſte*, for that is the Senſe of the word *Sage* in his Language when applied to a Woman: Had *Xenophon* deſigned to give her that Character, he would have called her σώφρονα, inſtead of σοφήν: the laſt of which I ſhould think might be more properly tranſlated in *French* by *Senſée* than *Sage*. Plutarch *in* Artaxerxes.

Baggage. Theſe, forming themſelves, killed many of thoſe who were plundering the Camp, and loſt ſome of their own Men; however, they did not fly, but ſaved the *Mileſian*, with the Men and Effects, and, in general, every thing elſe that was in their Quarter. The King and the *Greeks* were now at the diſtance of about thirty Stadia from one another, purſuing the Enemy that were oppoſite to them, as if they had gained a compleat Victory; and the King's Troops plundering the Camp of the *Greeks*, as if they alſo had been every where victorious. But, when the *Greeks* were informed, that the King, with his Men, were among their Baggage, and the King, on his ſide, heard from *Tiſſaphernes*, that the *Greeks* had put thoſe before them to flight, and were gone forward in the Purſuit, he then rallied his Forces, and put them in order. On the other ſide, *Clearchus* conſulted with *Proxenus*, who was neareſt to him, whether they ſhould ſend a Detachment, or ſhould all march to relieve the Camp.

IN the mean time the King was obſerved to move forward again, and ſeemed

ed resolved to fall upon their Rear; upon which, the *Greeks* [b] faced about, and put themselves in a posture to march that way, and receive him: However, the King did not advance that way; but, as be-

[b] Συσραφέντες. I am sorry I find myself obliged to differ from *Hutchinson* in translating this. I agree with him that *conglobati*, the Sense he has given of it, is the general Sense of the Word, as he has proved from *Hesychius* and *Phavorinus*; as for those synonymous Words he has quoted from *Julius Pollux*, I do not look upon to concern the present case, since they relate only to the Contraction of the human Body, as the Title of that Chapter plainly shews, Περὶ τῦ συστρέψαι τὸ σῶμα, κ) ἁπλῶσαι. Julius But, in order to form a right Judgment of the Sense of Pollux this Word in this place, we are to consider the Situation 5 *B.* 168 of the two Armies; the *Greeks*, after they had broken *Segm.* that part of the Enemy's Army that stood opposite to them, were engaged in pursuing them; and the King, having plundered *Cyrus*'s Camp, followed the *Greeks*, in order to fall upon their Rear, προσιὼν ὄπισθεν; but the latter seeing this Motion of the King, faced about to meet him. Now I believe it will be allowed, that it was not enough for the *Greeks* (though they had been dispersed, which we do not find) to get together in a body, in order to meet the King, who was following them; I say, I believe it will be thought that it was also necessary for them to face about, in order to put themselves in a proper Posture to receive him. This Motion of facing about to receive the Enemy, is often described by this Verse in *Homer*,

Οι δ' ἰλελίχθησαν κ) ἐναντίοι ἦσαν Αχαιῶν. Homer Il.

Which the *Greek* Scholiast explains by the very Word made use of by our Author in this place. συνεσράφησαν, μεταβαλλόμενοι εἰλήθησαν. It is with pleasure I lay hold on this opportunity of doing justice to *d'Ablancourt*, who has said, I think, in a very proper and military manner, *les Grecs firent la Conversion pour l'aller recevoir*; cela s'appelle parler guèrre. *Leunclavius* has also given it the same Sense.

before, paſſed [c] beyond their left Wing, led his Men back the ſame way, taking along with him thoſe who had deſerted to the *Greeks* during the Action, and alſo *Tiſſaphernes* with his Forces: for *Tiſſaphernes* did not fly at the firſt Onſet, but penetrated with his Horſe, where the *Greek* Targeteers were poſted, quite as far as the River: However, in breaking through, he killed none of their Men, but the *Greeks* [d] dividing, wounded his People both with their Swords and Darts. *Epiſthenes* of *Amphipolis* commanded the Targeteers, and is reported to have ſhewn great Conduct upon this occaſion. *Tiſſaphernes* therefore, as ſenſible of his Diſadvantage, departed, when, coming to the Camp of the *Greeks*, found the King there, and reuniting their Forces, they advanced, and preſently came oppoſite to the left of the *Greeks*, who being afraid they

[c] Ἡ δὲ παρῆλθεν ἔξω τῶν ἐναντίων κέρατος. *Xenophon* conſiders the *Greek* Army as it ſtood when the Battle began, otherwiſe after they had faced about, their left Wing was become their right. This *d'Ablancourt* has obſerved, but *Leunclavius* and *Hutchinſon* take no notice of it.

[d] Διασάντες. This is the Word contended for in note [m], p.90. The Motion made by the *Greeks* to let *Tiſſaphernes* and his Men paſs through their Body upon this occaſion, is the ſame they then made to let the Chariots paſs through them.

they ſhould attack their Wing, by wheeling to the right and left, and annoy them on both ſides; they reſolved to open that Wing, and cover the Rear with the River. While they were conſulting upon this, the King [c] marched by them, and drew up his Army oppoſite to theirs, in the ſame Order in which he firſt engaged: whereupon, the *Greeks*, ſeeing they drew near in Order of Battle, again ſung the *Pæan*, and went on with much more Alacrity than before; but the *Barbarians* did not ſtay to receive them, having fled ſooner than the firſt time, to a Village, where they were purſued by the *Greeks*,

[c] Παραμειψάμενος, εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ σχῆμα κατιστησιν ἐναντιὰν τὴν Φάλαγγα, ὥσπερ, &c. I have tranſlated this Paſſage, as if there was a Comma after παραμειψάμενος, which I have rendered *marching by them*, a Signification very common to the Word; for *Xenophon* does not ſay that the *Greeks* did actually open their Wing; but that, while they were conſulting about doing ſo, the King drew up his Army againſt theirs, upon which the *Greeks* advanced to attack him; this I do not underſtand how they could well do, while the Enemy was upon their Flank; but, if we ſuppoſe the King marched by them, and drew up upon the ſame Ground, and in the ſame Diſpoſition in which he firſt came on, we may eaſily underſtand how the *Greeks*, by facing about again, might put themſelves again in a Poſture to attack him: And this ſeems to agree very well with their purſuing the King's Troops to a Village, which Purſuit led them to ſome diſtance from their Camp ſince they made it a matter of Conſultation, whether they ſhould ſend for their Baggage, or return thither.

Greeks, who halted there; for there was an Eminence above the Village, upon which the King's Forces faced about. He had no Foot with him, but the Hill was covered with Horſe in ſuch a manner, that it was not poſſible for the *Greeks* to ſee what was doing: However, they ſaid they ſaw the royal Enſign there, which was a [f] golden Eagle with its Wings

[f] *Αετόν τινα χρυσῦν ἐπὶ ξυσῷ ἀνατεταμένον.* I think *Hutchinſon* has been very happy in ſubſtituting *ξυσῷ* to *ξύλῳ*, but then I do not ſee what *ἐπὶ πέλτης* has to do here, unleſs it is ſuppoſed to ſignify a Shield upon which the Eagle reſted; however, I cannot think *Xenophon* ſaid *ἀετὸν ἐπὶ πέλτης, ἐπὶ ξυσῷ ἀνατεταμένον*, and, if *ἐπὶ πέλτης* is to be changed into *ἐπὶ παλτῷ*, as *Leunclavius* will have it, it will then be viſibly a marginal Explanation of *ἐπὶ ξυσῷ*. *Xenophon*, in his Inſtitution of *Cyrus*, tells us, that the Enſign of the firſt *Cyrus* was a golden Eagle upon a Spear, with its Wings extended, which, he ſays, ſtill continues to be the Enſign of the *Perſian* Kings, and which we find by *Curtius*, continued to be ſo as long as the *Perſian* Empire ſubſiſted. The Deſcription *Xenophon* gives us of this Eagle, comes ſo very near to that given by *Dion Caſſius* of the *Roman* Eagle, and alſo to the Repreſentation of it upon *Trajan*'s Pillar, that one may reaſonably conclude the *Romans* received theirs from the eaſtern Part of the World. I own it is very probable that the *Romans* had an Eagle for their Enſign before the Battle, in which the firſt *Cyrus* defeated *Croeſus*, and in which *Xenophon* ſays he had an Eagle for his Enſign; for this Battle was fought in the firſt Year of the 58th Olympiad, that is, about the 205th Year of *Rome*. Indeed the earlieſt mention I can find of the *Roman* Eagle is in the Year of *Rome* 299, and the third of the eighty firſt Olympiad, *T. Romilius* and *C. Veturius* being Conſuls; where *Sicius Dentatus* tells the People, that, in an Action he

Xenoph. ἐν Κυρου παιδεια. 7 B.

Curtius, 3 B. 3 c.

Dion. Caſſius, 40 B.

Euſebius in his Chronic.

Dionyſ. Hal. 10 B.

Wings extended, reſting upon a Spear. When the *Greeks* advanced towards them, the Horſe quitted the Hill, not in a Body, but ſome running one way, and ſome another: However, the Hill was cleared of them by degrees, and at laſt they all left it. *Clearchus* did not march up the Hill with his Men, but, halting at the foot of it, ſent *Lycius* the *Syracuſan*, and another, with Orders to reconnoitre the place, and make their Report; *Lycius* rode up the Hill, and, having viewed it, brought Word that the Enemy fled in all haſte. Hereupon the *Greeks* halted, (it being near Sun ſet) and lying under their Arms, reſted themſelves; in the mean time wondering, that neither *Cyrus* appeared, nor any one from him; not knowing he was dead, but imagined, that

there mentions, he recovered the Eagle from the Enemy; but it muſt be owned alſo, that it is there ſpoken of as a thing already eſtabliſhed. I ſay this to ſhew the miſtake of ſome learned Men, who have maintained that *Marius* was the firſt who introduced the Uſe of this Enſign. I will hazard a Conjecture: It is this. If the Account given by *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis* be true, which he ſupports by ſo many probable Circumſtances, that *Æneas*, after the Deſtruction of *Troy*, came into *Italy*, and built *Lavinium*, whoſe Inhabitants built *Alba*, of which the City of *Rome* was a Colony; if, I ſay, this Account be as true as it is probable, why may not *Æneas* have brought this Enſign with him from the Eaſt? where poſſibly it might have been in uſe long before the Conqueſt of *Cyrus*. Dionyſ. Hal. 1 *B.*

that he was either led away by the Purſuit, or had rode forward to poſſeſs himſelf of ſome Poſt: however, they conſulted among themſelves, whether they ſhould ſtay where they were, and ſend for their Baggage, or return to their Camp: to the latter they reſolved upon, and arriving at their Tents about Supper-time, found the greateſt part of their Baggage plundered, with all the Proviſions, beſides the Carriages which, as it was ſaid, amounted to four hundred, full of Flour and Wine, which *Cyrus* had prepared, in order to diſtribute them among the *Greeks*, leſt at any time his Army ſhould labour under the want of Neceſſaries; but they were all ſo rifled by the King's Troops that the greateſt part of the *Greeks* had no Supper, neither had they eaten any Dinner; for, before the Army could halt in order to dine, the King appeared. And in this manner they paſſed the Night. ——

The End of the Firſt Book.

THE

THE

EXPEDITION

OF

CYRUS.

BOOK II.

IN the foregoing Book we have ſhewn, by what means *Cyrus* raiſed an Army of *Greeks*, when he marched againſt his Brother *Artaxerxes*, what was performed during his March, and in what manner the Battle was fought, how *Cyrus* was killed, and the *Greeks*, thinking they had gained a compleat Victory, and that *Cyrus* was alive, returned to their Camp,

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and betook themſelves to reſt. As ſoon as the Day approached, the Generals, being aſſembled, wondered that *Cyrus* neither ſent them any Orders, or appeared himſelf; reſolved therefore to collect what was left of their Baggage, and armed themſelves to move forward in order to join *Cyrus*; but juſt as they were on the point of marching, and as ſoon as the Sun was riſen, [a] *Procles*, who was Governor of *Teuthrania*, a Deſcendant from *Damaratus* the *Lacedæmonian*, and *Glus*, the Son of [b] *Tamos*, came to them, and declared that *Cyrus* was dead, and that *Ariæus* had left the Field, and was retired, with the reſt of the *Barbarians*, to the Camp they had left the Day before; where

[a] Πρόκλης. *Teuthrania* was a City of *Myſia* in *Aſia Minor*, of which *Procles* was Governor; he was deſcended from *Damaratus*, one of the Kings of *Sparta*, who was deprived of his Kingdom by his Colleague *Cleomenes*; upon which he fled to *Darius Hyſtaſpes*, who entertained him with great Magnificence; he afterwards attended *Xerxes* in his Expedition to *Greece*. Herodotus *in* Polyhymnia.

[b] Τάμως. He was of *Memphis*, and Admiral to *Cyrus*; after his Death, he ſailed with his Fleet to *Egypt*, and, having formerly conferred ſome Obligations on *Pſammitichus*, who was then King of that Country, he made no doubt of his Protection; but *Pſammitichus*, forgetting all Obligations, as well as the Laws of Hoſpitality, put him to death, and ſeized his Fleet. Diod. Sic. 14 *B.*

where [c]he ſaid he would ſtay for them that Day, if they thought fit to come; but that the next, he ſhould return to *Ionia*, whence he came. The Generals, and the reſt of the *Greeks*, hearing this, were greatly afflicted; and *Clearchus* with aſtoniſhment ſaid, "[d] *Would to God* Cyrus *was alive! but ſince he is dead, let* Ariæus *know, that we have overcome the King, and, as you ſee, meet with no further Reſiſtance, and that, if you had not come, we had marched againſt the King; at the ſame time, aſſure* Ariæus *from us, that, if he will come hither, we will place him on the Throne: for thoſe who gain the Victory, gain with it a right to command.*" After he had ſaid this, he directly ſent back the Meſſen-

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[c] Καὶ λέγοι ὅτι ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν περιμένειεν ἂν αὐτὸς, εἰ μέλλοιεν ἥξειν· τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ ἀπιέναι φαίη ἐπὶ Ιωνιας, ὅθενπερ ἦλθε. All this is left out by *d'Ablancourt*.

[d] Ὤφελε μὲν Κύρῳ ζῆν. Ὤφελον is here joined with an infinitive Mood, though in an optative Senſe. In all theſe Phraſes ὤφελον, or the *Ionick* ὄφελον, is not an Adverb, whatever the Grammarians ſay, ὡς or ἦθε being always underſtood, which Conſtruction of the Phraſe is ſo true, that one of them is frequently expreſſed. Thus *Helen*, reproaching *Paris* for his inglorious Behaviour in the Duel between him and *Menelaus*, tells him,

Ηλυθες ἐκ πολέμου. ὡς ὄφελες αὐτόθ' ὀλέσθαι, Il. γ.
Ανδρὶ δαμεὶς κρατερῷ, ὅς ἐμὸς πρόσθεν πόσις ἦεν.

Many other Examples may be given from the ſame Author, where ἄφελε or εἴθε is expreſſed.

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Meſſengers, together with *Cheriſophus* the *Lacedæmonian*, and *Menon* the *Theſſalian*: for *Menon* himſelf deſired it, he being a Friend to *Ariæus*, and engaged to him by an Intercourſe of Hoſpitality. *Clearchus* ſtaid 'till they returned, making Proviſions as well as he could, by killing the Oxen and Aſſes that belonged to the Baggage; and, inſtead of other Wood, made uſe of the Arrows, which they found in great Quantities in the Field of Battle, not far from the place where their Army lay, (and which the *Greeks* obliged the Deſerters to pull out of the Ground) and alſo of the *Perſian* Bucklers, and the *Egyptian* Shields, that were made of Wood, beſides a great many Targets, and empty Waggons; with all which they dreſſed their Victuals, and, in this manner, ſupported themſelves that Day.

IT was now [c] about the time the Market is generally full, when the Heralds arrived with the Meſſage from the King and *Tiſſaphernes*, all of whom were *Barbarians*, (except *Phalinus*, who was a *Greek*, and happened then to be with *Tiſſa-*

[c] Περὶ πληθουσαν ἀγορὰν. See note [7], page 82.

Tiſſaphernes, by whom he was much esteemed; for he pretended to understand *Tactics*, and the [f] *Exercise of Arms*) who, after assembling together the *Greek* Commanders, said, that the King, since he had gained the Victory, and killed *Cyrus*, ordered the *Greeks* to deliver up their Arms, and, repairing to [g] Court, endeavour to obtain some favourable Terms from the King. The *Greeks* received this with much Indignation; however, *Clear-*

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[f] Οπλομαχίαν. *Leunclavius* has translated this *gladiatoriæ peritiam*, which I cannot think so proper as *artem armis depugnandi* in *Hutchinson*; *d'Ablancourt* has artfully evaded this difficulty, by comprehending both τῶν περὶ τὰς τάξεις τε καὶ ὁπλομαχίαν in these general Words *l'Art militaire*. It is very certain the *Romans* took many things, both in civil and military Affairs, from the *Greeks*, but I believe the gladiatorian Spectacles were in use in *Rome*, before they were heard of in *Greece*: The Origin of which seems to have been the early Custom in use among most Nations, of sacrificing Captives to the Manes of great Generals, who were slain in war: Thus *Achilles* sacrifices twelve *Trojans* to the Manes of *Patroclus*, and *Æneas* sends Captives to *Evander*, to be sacrificed at the Funeral of his Son *Pallas*: *Valerius Maximus* says, that *M.* and *D. Brutus* in the Consulship of *App. Claudius* and *M. Fulvius*, honoured the Funeral of their Father with a gladiatorian Spectacle, which from that time became frequent upon those occasions; but this was many Years after the time our Author speaks of, when I am convinced the *Greeks* had never heard of these Spectacles; my Reason is, that whenever any *Greek* Author of, or near the Age *Xenophon* lived in, speaks of ὁπλομαχία, I dare say they always understand *Masters* appointed to teach *military Exercises*.

Homer Il. ψ. Virgil Æneid, 11 *B.* Val. Max. 2 *B. c.* 4.

[g] Ἐπὶ τὰς βασιλέως θύρας. See n te [r], page 20.

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Clearchus ſaid no more to them than that, *It was not the Part of Conquerors to deliver up their Arms*; *but* (addreſſing himſelf to the Generals) *do you make the beſt and moſt becoming Anſwer you can, and I will return immediately:* (he being called out by one of his Servants to inſpect the Entrails of the *Victim*, which he was then offering up in *Sacrifice*.) Whereupon, *Cleanor* the *Arcadian*, the oldeſt Perſon preſent, made anſwer, "*They would ſooner die than deliver up their Arms.*" Then *Proxenus*, the *Theban*, ſaid, "*I wonder, O* Phalinus! *whether the King demands our Arms, as a* Conqueror; *or, as a* Friend, *deſires them by way of* Preſent; *if, as a* Conqueror, *what occaſion has he to demand them?* [h] *Why does he not rather come and take them? if he would perſuade us to deliver them, ſay, what are the Soldiers to expect in return for ſo great an* Obligation?" *Phalinus* anſwered; "*The King looks upon himſelf as* Conqueror, *ſince he has killed* Cyrus; *for who is now his Rival in the Empire? He looks upon*

[h] Τί δεῖ αὐτὸν αἰτεῖν, ἀλλ' ἢ λαβεῖν ἐλθόντα; Thus, when *Xerxes* ſent to *Leonidas at Thermopylæ* to deliver up his Arms, the latter bid him come and take them; λαβὲ μολών, ſays he, according to the conciſe Style of his Country. Plutarch Apopth.

upon you also as his Property, *since he has you in the middle of his Country, surrounded by impassable Rivers; and can bring such numbers of Men against you, that, though he delivered them up to you, your Strength would fail you before you could put them all to death.*"

AFTER him *Xenophon* an *Athenian*, said, "*You see, O* Phalinus! *that we have nothing now to depend upon,* [i] *but our* Arms, *and our* Courage; *and, while we are* Masters *of our* Arms, *we think we can make use of our* Courage *also; but that, when we deliver up these, we deliver up our* Persons *too; do not therefore expect we shall deliver up the only* Advantages *we possess; on the contrary, be assured, that with these we are*

[i] Εἰ μὴ ὅπλα καὶ ἀρετή. Αρετὴ is here taken for Courage, in which Sense it is frequently used by the best Authors; in this Sense *Idomeneus* says an Ambuscade is the Trial of a Soldier's Courage,

—— λόχον ἔνθα μάλιστ' ἀρετὴ διαίδεται ἀνδρῶν, Homer
Ενθ' ὅτε δειλὸς ἀνὴρ, ὅς τ' ἀλκιμος, ἐξεφαάνθη. Il. N.

In this Sense also *Virgil* says,

—— *Dolus, an virtus quis in hoste requirit?* Virgil Æneid, 2 B.

After this, I believe, it will be allowed, that *d'Ablancourt* does not give the Author's Sense, when he says, *il ne nous est resté autre chose, que les armes & la liberté*; to justify this, he says the *Greek* Word signifies *la vertu*, though ἀρετὴ in this place signifies neither Liberty nor Virtue.

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are reſolved to fight with you, even for thoſe you are in poſſeſſion of." *Phalinus*, hearing this, ſmiled, and ſaid, "[k] *Young Man! indeed you ſeem to be a* Philoſopher, *and ſpeak handſomely; but, believe me, you are miſtaken, if you imagine, that your* Courage *will prevail over the Power of the King.*" However, it was reported, that others, whoſe Reſolution began to fail, ſaid, that, as they had been true to *Cyrus*, they would alſo be of great *ſervice* to the *King*, if he were diſpoſed to be their *Friend*; and that, whatever Commands he had for them, they would *obey* him; and, if he propoſed [l] to invade *Egypt*, they would aſſiſt him in the Conqueſt of it. In the mean this in the ſame manner I have done; though if *Lucian*'s Account of our Author be true, that is, that he was above 90 Years old when he died; and if, according to *Laërtius*, he died in the firſt Year of the 105th Olympiad, he muſt have been fifty, at leaſt, at the time of this Expedition: which I mention for the ſake of ſome worthy Gentlemen of my Acquaintance, who will not be ſorry to find a Man of fifty treated as a young Man.

Lucian περὶ μακροβίων. Laërtius 11 *B. c.* 22.

[k] Ω νεανίσκε. I find all the Tranſlators have rendered

[l] Επ' Αιγυπτον στρατεύειν. This Expedition is propoſed, becauſe the *Egyptians* had ſeveral Years before withdrawn themſelves from their Subjection to the *Perſians*, and were at this time governed by a King of their own, called *Pſammitichus*, deſcended from the ancient *Pſammitichus*, who, being one of the twelve Kings, put all the reſt to death, and, by that means, made himſelf King of all *Egypt*.

Diod. Sic. 13 *B.* Herodot. *in* Euterp.

mean time, *Clearchus* returned, and asked if they had already given their Answer. To whom *Phalinus* said, "*These Men, O* Clearchus! *say one, one thing, and another, another; but pray let us have your Thoughts.*" To which he replied; *I rejoice, O* Phalinus! *to see you, as, I am persuaded, all these do, who are present; for you are a* Greek, *as well as we, whom you see before you in so great numbers; wherefore, in our present Circumstances, we desire you to advise us what we ought to do with regard to the Proposals you bring;* [m] *and intreat you, by all the Gods, give us that Advice, which you think best, and most becoming, and which will do you most honour in the Eyes of* Posterity, *when it shall be said, that* Phalinus, *being sent by the King with Orders to the* Greeks *that they should deliver up their Arms, and, being consulted by them, gave them this Advice: for you are sensible, that your Advice, whatever it is, must be reported in* Greece." *Clearchus* insinuated this, with a view of engaging the King's Embassador himself to advise them not to deliver up their Arms, that, by this means, the *Greeks* might entertain better hopes:

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[m] Συμβουλεύσασθαί σοι. See note [o], page 12.

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hopes: But [n] *Phalinus* artfully avoided the Snare, and, contrary to his Expectation ſpoke as follows:

"*If you had the leaſt hope of a thouſand to preſerve yourſelves by making war againſt the King, I ſhould adviſe you not to deliver up your Arms; but, if you cannot hope for Safety without his Concurrence, I adviſe you to preſerve yourſelves by the only means you can.*" *Clearchus* replied, "*This, I find, is your Senſe of the Matter; and this Anſwer you are deſired to return from us; that we think, if it is propoſed we ſhould be Friends to the King, we ſhall be more valuable Friends*

[n] Φαλῖνῳ δ' ὑποστρέψας. It is with great reaſon that *Hutchinſon* rejects the Senſe *Leunclavius* gives to ὑποστρέψας in this place, as if it ſignified returning; he has ſhewn out of *Julius Pollux*, that ἐξαπατᾶν, στρέφεσθαι, and ὑποστρέφεσθαι, are ſynonymous; whence he very properly derives the *Latin* word *ſtropha*, a *Deceit*, to which I ſhall add, that *Pliny* the younger makes uſe of the Word in this Senſe, in one of his Epiſtles, where he ſays, *inveniam aliquam ſtrophan, agamque Cauſam tuam.* There is alſo a Paſſage in *Ariſtophanes*, where στροφὴ is uſed in the ſame Signification, ἀλλ' ἦν ἔργον ἐς' ὑδὲν στροφῶν, which the Scholiaſt explains in a manner very agreeable to the Senſe of ὑποστρέψας in this place: στροφαὶ, ſays he, οἱ συμπεπλεγμένοι, καὶ δολεροὶ λόγοι. *D'Ablancourt* was aware of the Difficulty of this Word, and has left it out: Nothing ſurpriſes me ſo much, as that *Hutchinſon*, after having ſo juſtly condemned *reverſus* in his Notes, ſhould follow it in his Tranſlation. The *French* Language has an Expreſſion, which very properly explains ὑποστρέψας in this place, *détournant le Coup*.

Plin. *Ep.* 1. 18. 6.

Ariſtophanes *in* Pluto.

Friends by preſerving our Arms, than by parting with them; and that, if we are to go to war with him, we ſhall make war with greater advantage by keeping our Arms, than by delivering them." *Phalinus* ſaid, "*I ſhall report this Anſwer: However, the King ordered me alſo to let you know, that, if you ſtay where you are, you will have Peace; but, if you advance or march back, you muſt expect War: let me have your Anſwer alſo to this; and whether I ſhall acquaint the King, that you will ſtay here, and accept of Peace, or that you declare for War.*" *Clearchus* replied, "*Let the King know, that in this we are of the ſame opinion with him.*" What is that? ſaid *Phalinus*. *Clearchus* anſwered, "*If we ſtay there may be* Peace, *but, if we march back, or advance*, War." *Phalinus* again aſked, "*Shall I report peace or war?*" *Clearchus* replied, "Peace, *if we ſtay, and, if we march back, or advance*, War; but did not declare what he propoſed to do. So *Phalinus*, and thoſe with him, went away. BOOK II.

IN the mean time *Procles* and *Cherifophus* came from *Ariæus*, leaving *Menon* with him, and brought word that *Ariæus*

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ſaid, there were many *Perſians* of greater Conſideration than himſelf, who would never ſuffer him to be their King: but deſires, if you propoſe marching away with him, that you will come to him to-night; if not, he ſays he will depart the next Morning early. *Clearchus* anſwered, what you adviſe is very proper, if we join him; if not do whatever you think expedient to your advantage; for he would not acquaint even theſe with his Purpoſe. After this, when it was Sun-ſet, he aſſembled the Generals and Captains, and ſpoke to them as follows: "*Gentlemen! I have conſulted the Gods by Sacrifice, concerning marching againſt the King, and the Victims, with great reaſon, forbid it; for I am now informed, that, between us and the King, lies the* Tigres, *a navigable River, which we cannot paſs without Boats; and theſe we have not: neither is it poſſible for us to ſtay here, for we are without Proviſions. But the Victims were very favourable to the Deſign of joining* Cyrus's *Friends. The Order therefore we ought to purſue, is this; let every Man retire, and ſup upon what he has; and, when the Horn ſounds to reſt, pack up your Baggage; when it ſounds*

a ſecond time, charge the ſumpter Horſes; and, when a third, follow your Leader, and let the Baggage march next to the River, and the heavy-armed Men cover it." The Generals and Captains hearing this, departed, and did as they were directed; *Clearchus* having taken upon him the command of the Army, who ſubmitted to him, not, as having elected him to that Employment, but, becauſe they were ſenſible that he alone was equal to the Command, the reſt being without Experience. They had made from *Epheſus*, (a City of *Ionia*,) to the Field of Battle, ninety-three Marches, which amounted to five hundred and thirty-five Paraſangas, or [o] ſixteen thouſand and fifty Stadia: [p] and, from the Field of Battle

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[o] Στάδιοι πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑξακισχίλιοι καὶ μύριοι. This confirms what was advanced in note [x], page 15; *viz.* that a Paraſanga contained thirty Stadia.

[p] Ἀπὸ δὲ της μάχης ἐλέγοντο εἶναι εἰς Βαβυλῶνα, στάδιοι ἑξήκοντα καὶ τρισχίλιοι. Here muſt be ſome miſtake, probably, in the Tranſcriber, though *Xenophon* ſays upon Report only, that there were three thouſand and ſixty Stadia from the Field of Battle to *Babylon*: However, *Plutarch* ſeems to come much nearer the truth, when he ſays there were but five hundred; for, if the Reader will compute the Diſtances mentioned by our Author from *Thapſacus*, where *Cyrus* paſſed the *Euphrates*, to the Field of Battle, he will find that they amount to no leſs than four

Plutarch *in* Artaxerxes.

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Battle to *Babylon*, it was computed there were three thouſand and ſixty Stadia.

AFTER this, as ſoon as it was dark, *Miltocythes*, the *Thracian*, with his Horſe, being forty in number, and three hundred *Thracian* Foot, deſerted to the King. *Clearchus*, in the manner he had appointed, led the reſt, and, about Midnight, arrived at their firſt Camp, where they found *Ariæus* with his Army; and the Men being drawn up and ſtanding to their Arms, the Generals and Captains of the *Greeks* went in a body to *Ariæus*, and both they and he, with the moſt conſiderable Men about him, took an Oath not to betray one another, and to become Allies: The *Barbarians* alſo ſwore that they would conduct them without Deceit. This was the Subſtance of their Oath, which was preceded by the *Sacri-*

four thouſand ſix hundred and fifty Stadia; now the ancient Geographers allow no more than four thouſand eight hundred, from *Thapſacus* to *Babylon*, in following the Courſe of the *Euphrates*, which we find was the Rout the Army took; ſo that there will, in that caſe, remain no more than one hundred and fifty Stadia, from the Field of Battle to *Babylon*, which is ſo vaſtly ſhort of the Diſtance mentioned by *Xenophon*, that the difference ſeems to be rather owing to a fault in the Tranſcriber, than to a miſtake in thoſe, from whom *Xenophon* received his Information. I am ſurprized none of the Tranſlators have thought fit to take notice of this Paſſage.

Strabo, 2 B.

[q] *Sacrifice* of a *Boar*, a *Bull*, a *Wolf*, and a *Ram*, whoſe Blood being all mixed together in the hollow of a Shield, the *Greeks* dipped a Sword therein, and the *Barbarians* a Spear. When they had pledged their Faith, *Clearchus* ſaid, "*Since*, O Ariæus! *your* [r] *Rout and ours are the ſame, ſay, what is your Opinion concerning our march? Shall we return the ſame way we came, or have you thought of any other more convenient?*" *Ariæus*, anſwered, "*If we return the ſame way we came, we ſhall all periſh with Hunger; ſince we are now entirely deſtitute of Proviſions: for, during the laſt ſeventeen days march, we could ſupply ourſelves with nothing out of the Country, even in our way hither; and, whatever was found there, we have conſumed in our Paſſage; ſo that though the way we now propoſe to take is longer, yet we ſhall be in no want*

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[q] Σφάξαντες κάπρον, &c. The Cuſtom of giving a Sanction to ſolemn Leagues and Treaties, by the Sacrifice of particular Animals, is very ancient: Thus the Agreement between the *Greeks* and *Trojans*, and the ſingle Combat of *Paris* and *Menelaus*, which was conſequent to it, was preceded by the *Sacrifice* of three *Lambs*, one to the *Earth*, another to the *Sun*, and a third to *Jupiter*. The Blood of the *Victims* was often mixed with Wine, and ſometimes received in a Veſſel, in which the contracting Parties dipped their Arms, as *Herodotus* informs us was practiſed by the *Scythians*. Homer. Il. γ. Herodot. in Melpomene.

[r] Στόλος. See note [n], page 15.

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want of Provisions. We must make our first Marches as long as ever we can, to the end we may get as far as possible from the King's Army: for, if we can once gain two or three days march of him, it will not after that be in his power to overtake us: Since with a small Army he will not dare to follow us, and with a great one he will not be able to make quick marches; it is also probable he may want Provisions." This, says he, is my Opinion.

THIS Scheme, for the march of the Army was calculated for nothing but a Retreat, or a Flight; but Fortune proved a more glorious Conductor. As soon therefore as it was Day, they began their march, with the Sun on their right, expecting to arrive by Sun-set at some Villages that lay in the Country of *Babylon*; and in this they were not mistaken. But in the Afternoon they thought they saw the Enemy's Horse; upon which, not only the *Greeks*, who happened to have left their Ranks, ran to them in all haste, but *Ariæus* also alighting, (for being wounded, he was carried in a Chariot)

[a] Ἀμφὶ δείλην. See note [a], page 84

riot) put on his Corſlet, as did all thoſe about him. But, while they were arming, the Scouts, who had been ſent out, brought word, that they were not Horſe, but only ſumpter Horſes at Paſture, whence every one preſently concluded that the King's Camp was not far off: For a Smoke alſo appeared in the neighbouring Villages. However, *Clearchus* did not lead them againſt the Enemy (for he knew the Men were tired, and had eaten nothing all Day; beſides it was late); neither did he march out of the way, avoiding the Appearance of a Flight; but leading them directly forward, at Sun-ſet he quartered with the Vanguard, in the Villages neareſt to him, out of which the King's Army had carried away even the Timber that belonged to the Houſes. Thoſe who arrived firſt, encamped with ſome kind of Uniformity, but the others who followed, coming up when it was dark, quartered, as they could, and made ſo great a noiſe in calling out to one another, that the Enemy heard them, of whom thoſe who lay neareſt to the *Greeks* ran away, leaving even their Tents; which being known

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the next Day; no ſumpter Horſes or Camp appeared, neither was there any Smoke to be ſeen in the Neighbourhood; and the King himſelf it ſeems was ſtruck at the Approach of our Army, by what he did the next day.

ON the other ſide, the Night advancing, the *Greeks* alſo were ſeized with Fear, which was attended with a Tumult and Noiſe, uſual in ſuch caſes; upon this, *Clearchus* ordered *Tolmides* of *Elis*, the beſt Cryer of his time, whom he happened to have with him, to command ſilence, and make Proclamation from the Commanders, that, whoever gave Information of the Perſon, who had turned the [1] *Aſs* into the

[1] Ος ἂν ἀφιέντα τὸν ὄνον εἰς τὰ ὅπλα, &c. *Hutchinſon*, I think, very juſtly finds fault with *Leunclavius* for changing τὸν ὄνον into τὸν φόβον, without the Authority of any Manuſcript; for, as he obſerves, we find in the beginning of this Book, that they had Aſſes among their Beaſts of Burden: But then I cannot think *Exercitui* in *Leunclavius*, or *in Caſtra* in *Hutchinſon*, a cloſe Tranſlation of εἰς τὰ ὅπλα, which laſt Senſe I find *d'Ablancourt* has alſo given to it. I rather take τὰ ὅπλα in this place to ſignify the Quarter of the heavy-armed Men; in which Senſe I dare ſay our Author uſes it afterwards, where he ſays that *Proxenus* and himſelf were walking πρὸ τῶν ὅπλων; and in this Senſe I am ſure *Thucydides* uſes the Word in the beginning of the third Book, where he ſays, that *the* Peloponneſians *being encamped in* Attica, *laid waſte the Country, 'till the* Athenian *Horſe coming up, put a ſtop to*

the

the Quarter of the heavy-armed Men, BOOK II.
ſhould receive the Reward of a [u] *ſilver Talent*. By this Proclamation, the Soldiers underſtood, that their fear was vain, and their Commanders ſafe. At break of Day, *Clearchus* ordered the *Greeks* to ſtand to their Arms in the ſame Diſpoſition they had obſerved in the Action.

WHAT I ſaid concerning the King's being terrified at our Approach, became then manifeſt; for, having ſent to us the Day before, demanding our Arms, ſent alſo Heralds by Sun-riſe to treat of a *Truce*: when, coming to the Out-guards, enquired for the Commanders; *Clearchus*, who was then viewing the Ranks, ordered them to ſtay 'till he was at leiſure; and, as ſoon as he had drawn up the Army

the Excurſions of the light-armed Men, and hindered them from leaving the heavy-armed, and continuing their Depredations in the Neighbourhood of the City: τὸν πολίτων ὅμιλον τῶν ψιλῶν ἔργον, τὸ μὴ προεξιόντας τῶν ὅπλων, τὰ ἴσχυς τῆς πόλεως κακῶς ἐργεῖν, where τῶν ὅπλων is explained by the *Greek* Scholiaſt by τῶν ὁπλιτῶν.

[u] Τάλαντον ἀργυρίου. See note [m], page 9. Poſſibly the Drachmæ and Minæ of which this Talent was compoſed, might be of a different Standard from thoſe there mentioned.

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Army with much Elegance, [x] the Ranks being closed on all sides, and no unarmed Men to be seen, sent for the Messengers; came forward himself, attended by those of his Soldiers, who were the best armed, and most graceful in their Persons, desiring the rest of the Generals to do the like, and asked the Messengers what they wanted? they replied; they were Persons come to treat of a *Truce*, being properly qualified to carry Messages between the King and the *Greeks*. He answered, let the King know, that first we must fight: for we have nothing to dine on, and there is no Man so hardy as to mention a *Truce* to the *Greeks*, unless he first provides them a Dinner. The Messengers, hereupon departed, but returning presently, (by which it appeared that the King was near at hand, or some other Person, who was appointed to transact this matter) brought Word; *the King thought their Demand very reasonable*, and

[x] Φάλαγγα πυκνήν. Πύκνωσις τῆς φάλαγγος, among the *Greek* Masters of Tactics signifies properly, *the closing both of the Ranks and Files.* ἔστι πύκνωσις μὲν ἐκ τῆ ἀραιοτέρᾳ ἐς τὸ πυκνότερον συναγωγὴ κατὰ παρασάτην τε καὶ ἐπισάτην. *Arrian.* This is unfortunately rendered by *d'Ablancourt aprés avoir rangé l'armée en bataille au meilleur état qu'elle put etre.*

and that they had with them, *Guides*, who, if a *Truce* were concluded, ſhould conduct them to a place, where they would find Proviſions. *Clearchus* then aſked, whether the King propoſed to comprehend *thoſe* only in the *Truce*, who went between him and them, or whether it ſhould extend to *all*; they ſaid to *all*, 'till the King is informed of your *Propoſals*. Whereupon *Clearchus*, ordering them to withdraw immediately, held a Council, where it was reſolved to conclude a *Truce*, and to march *peaceably* to the place where the Proviſions were, and ſupply themſelves therewith. *Clearchus* ſaid, I join with you in this opinion; however, I will not directly acquaint the Meſſengers with our Reſolution, but defer it 'till they [y] apprehend leſt we ſhould reject the *Truce*. I imagine that our Soldiers alſo will lie under the ſame Apprehenſion. Therefore, when he thought it time, he let them know that he

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[y] Ες' ἂν ὀκνήσωσιν οἱ Ἄγγελοι. Ὀκνῶ. φοβοῦμαι. καὶ σὺκνῶς οὕτω κέχρηται Σοφοκλῆς ἐπὶ τὸ φοβεῖσθαι.

Φρονοῦντα γάρ νιν εἰκὸς ἂν ἐξίστην ὄκνῳ. Soph. *in* Ajax.

This is from *Suidas*, whom I quote upon this occaſion, becauſe this Word, in its general Acceptation, ſignifies *to be unwilling, to be backward.*

BOOK II.

he would enter into a *Truce*, and immediately ordered the Guides to conduct them where they might get Provisions.

CLEARCHUS, upon marching with his Army in Order of Battle, to conclude the *Truce*, having himself taken charge of the Rear, met with Ditches and Canals full of Water, so that they were not able to pass without Bridges, which they made with *Palm-Trees*, having found some lying upon the Ground, and others they cut down. Upon this occasion it might be observed, how equal *Clearchus* was to the Command; for, taking his *Pike* in his left Hand, and a [z] *Staff* in his right, if he saw any of those he had appointed to

[z] Ἐν δὲ τῇ δεξιᾷ βακτηρίαν. The *Lacedæmonian* Commanders carried a *Staff* or *Stick*, (I am afraid of calling it a *Cane*) possibly for the same purpose, as the *Roman* Centurions used a *Vitis*, that is, to correct their Soldiers. *Thucydides* gives one to *Astyochus*, the *Lacedæmonian* Commander; and we find in *Plutarch*, that *Eurybiades*, the *Lacedæmonian* Admiral, and *Themistocles*, differing in opinion concerning the Operations of their united Fleet, the former, impatient of Contradiction, held up his Stick threatening to strike *Themistocles*, who, instead of being diverted by this Outrage from supporting his Opinion, upon which he knew the Safety of all *Greece* depended, generously sacrificed his Resentment for a private Indignity to his Zeal for the public Good, and made him that memorable Answer, *Strike, if you will, but hear me*, παταξον μὲν, ἄκουσον δέ.

Thucyd. 8 *Book.*

Plutarch *in his Life of* Themistocles.

to this Service, backward in the execu- BOOK
tion of it, he displaced him, and substi- II.
tuted a proper Person in his room, he himself, at the same time, going into the Dirt, and assisting them; so that every one was ashamed not to be active. He had appointed Men of thirty Years of Age to this Service, but, when those of a more advanced Age, saw *Clearchus* forwarding the Work in Person, they gave their Assistance also. *Clearchus* pressed it the more, because he suspected the Ditches were not always so full of Water, (for it was not the Season to water the Country) imagining the King had ordered the Waters to be let out, with this view, that the *Greeks* might foresee great Difficulties attending their march.

AT last, coming to the Villages, where the Guides told them they might supply themselves with Provisions, they found plenty of Corn, and [a] *Wine* made of the Fruit of the *Palm-Tree*, and also Vinegar drawn, by boiling, from the same Fruit. These *Dates*, such as we have in *Greece*, they give to their *Domesticks*; but those which

[a] Οἶνος φοινίκων. See note [x], page 61

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which are reserved for the *Maſters*, are *choſen* Fruit, and worthy of Admiration, both for their Beauty and Size, having in all reſpects, the Appearance of *Amber*, and ſo delicious, that they are frequently dried for Sweet-meats: The Wine that was made of it, was ſweet to the Taſte, but apt to give the Head-ach: Here the Soldiers eat, for the firſt time, [b] the *Pith* of the *Palm-Tree*, many admiring both the [c] Figure, and its peculiar Sweetneſs, although it alſo occaſioned violent Head-achs; but the *Palm-Tree*, whence this *Pith* was taken, withered entirely. Here they ſtaid three Days; during which, *Tiſſaphernes*, with the Queen's Brother, and three other *Perſians*, coming from the great King, attended by many Slaves, were met by the *Greek* Generals, when *Tiſſaphernes*, by an Interpreter, firſt ſpoke in the following manner:

I

[b] Τὸν ἐγκέφαλον τῷ φοίνικος. *Pliny* and *Theophraſtus* both ſay, that the *Pith* here mentioned grows on the top of the *Palm-Tree*.

Pl. N. H. 13 *B. c.* 4. Theoph. 2 *B. c.* 8.

[c] Εἶδος. I cannot like *genus ipſum* in the *Latin* Tranſlators for εἶδος: had *Xenophon* meant *the kind* of Food, as *Hutchinſon*, I find, underſtands it, ſince he has added the word *cibi*, he ſure would alſo have added τῆς ἰδίας τροφῆς. I rather think that our Author meant the particular Figure of it, which is no uncommon Signification of the word εἶδος; *d'Ablancourt* has alſo underſtood it in this Senſe.

BOOK II.

"*I live, O* Greeks! *in the Neighbour-hood of* Greece; *and, ſeeing you involved in many inſuperable Difficulties, looked upon it as a* [d] *piece of good Fortune, that I had room to requeſt the King to allow me to conduct you ſafe into* Greece: *for I imagine, I ſhall find no want of Gratitude either in you, or in the whole* Greek *Nation; upon which Conſideration, I made my requeſt to the King, alledging, that I had a Title to this Favour, becauſe I was the firſt Perſon, who informed him that* Cyrus *was marching againſt him, and, together with this Information, brought an Army to his Aſſiſtance: And alſo, becauſe I was the only Commander in that part of the Army, oppoſite to the* Greeks, *who did not fly, but broke through, and joined the King in your Camp; whither he came, after he had killed* Cyrus; *and, with theſe Troops, here preſent, who are moſt faithful to him,*

I

[d] Ευρημα ἐποιησάμην. In this ſenſe Ευρημα is uſed by *Thucydides*, where *Nicias* tells the *Athenians*, that the Affairs of the *Lacedæmonians* having taken an unhappy Turn, they would look upon it as *a piece of good Fortune to have it in their power immediately to hazard a Battle*, ἐκείνοις δὲ δυσυχοῦσιν, ὅτι τάχιστα εὕρημα εἶναι διακινδυνεῦσαι: I think *Leunclavius* has not ſaid properly, *reperiundum mihi aliquid duxi*; how much happier has *Hutchinſon* rendered it, *in lucro mihi deputandum cenſui? J'ay taché d'apporter quelque remede à vos maux* in *d'Ablancourt*, has not the leaſt pretence to a Tranſlation of this Paſſage Thucydides 5 B.

BOOK II.

I purſued the Barbarians *belonging to* Cyrus. *Theſe things, the King ſaid, he would take into Conſideration; but commanded me to aſk you, what Motive induced you to make war upon him? I adviſe you to anſwer with Temper, that I may, with the greater eaſe, obtain ſome favour for you, from the King.*"

UPON this, the *Greeks* withdrew, and, having conſulted together, *Clearchus* made anſwer, "*We did not come together with a deſign of making War upon the King, neither did we march againſt him: But* Cyrus *found many Pretences, as you very well know, that he might take you unprepared, and lead us hither. However, when we ſaw him in Difficulties, our Reſpect both to Gods, and Men, would not allow us to abandon him, eſpecially ſince we had formerly given ourſelves leave to receive Obligations from him: But ſince* Cyrus *is dead, we neither contend with the King for his Kingdom, nor have any reaſon to deſire to infeſt his Country: neither do we mean to deſtroy him, but to return home, provided no one moleſts us; but, if any Man offers an Injury to us, we ſhall, with the Aſſiſtance of the* Gods, *endeavour to revenge it. And, if any one confers a Favour*

vour on us, we ſhall not, to the utmoſt of our power, be behind-hand in returning it." BOOK II.

TISSAPHERNES in anſwer to this, replied; "*I ſhall acquaint the King, and immediately return with his Sentiment; 'till then,* [c] *let the Truce continue; in the mean time we will provide a Market for you.*" The next Day he did not return, which gave the *Greeks* ſome uneaſineſs; but the third Day he came, and informed them, that *he had prevailed upon the King to allow him to conduct them ſafe to* Greece, *though many oppoſed it, alledging, that it was* [f] *unbecoming the Dignity of the King, to ſuffer thoſe to eſcape, who had made war upon him.* He concluded thus; "*And now you may rely upon the Aſſurance we give you, that we will effectually cauſe the Country to treat you as Friends, conduct you without Guile into* Greece, *and provide a Market for you: And, wherever we do not provide one, we allow*

[c] Αι σπονδαὶ μενόντων. See note [a], page 45.

[f] Ως ἠν ἄξιον εἰη βασιλεῖ. *Thucydides* uſes this Word in the ſame Senſe, where the Embaſſadors of *Platæa* tell *Archidamus*, and the *Lacedæmonians*, that, by making an Irruption into their Country, they act unjuſtly, and in a manner unbecoming both themſelves and their Anceſtors, οὐ δικαια ποιεῖτε, οὐδ' ἄξια ὅτε ὑμῶν, ὅτε πατέρων ὧν ἐς τε, τὴν γῆν τὴν Πλαταιέων στρατευοντες. 2 B.

BOOK II.

allow you to ſupply yourſelves out of the Country. On your ſide, you muſt take an Oath to us, that you will march, as through a Friend's Country, without doing any damage to it, and only ſupply yourſelves with Meat, and Drink, when we do not provide a Market for you; and, when we do, that you will pay for what you want." This was agreed upon; and *Tiſſaphernes*, with the Queen's Brother, took the Oath, and gave their Hands to the *Greek* Generals, and Captains, and received thoſe of the *Greeks*; after which, *Tiſſaphernes* ſaid, I muſt now return to [g] the King, and, when I have diſpatched what is neceſſary, I will come back to you with all things in readineſs both to conduct you into *Greece*, and return myſelf to my own *Government*.

HEREUPON, the *Greeks* and *Ariæus*, being encamped near to one another, waited for *Tiſſaphernes* above twenty Days; during which, the Brothers, and other Relations of *Ariæus*, came to him, and ſome of the *Perſians* came to thoſe who were with him, giving them Encourage-

[g] Ὡς βασιλέα. See note [1], page 14.

couragement, and Aſſurances from the King, that he would forget their taking up Arms againſt him in favour of *Cyrus*, and every thing elſe, that was paſt. While theſe things were tranſacting, it was manifeſt that *Ariæus* and his People paid leſs regard to the *Greeks*: many of whom, therefore, being diſſatisfied, came to *Clearchus*, and to the reſt of the Generals, ſaying, "*Why do we ſtay here? Do we not know, that the King deſires, above all things, to deſtroy us, to the end that all the reſt of the* Greeks *may be deterred from making War againſt him? He now ſeduces us to ſtay, becauſe his Army is diſperſed, which being re-aſſembled, it is not to be imagined, but that he will attack us: Poſſibly alſo he may obſtruct our march, either by digging a Trench, or raiſing a Wall in ſome convenient place, in ſuch a manner, as to render it impracticable.* [h] *For he will never wil-*

BOOK II.

[h] Ου γάρ ποτε ἐκών γε βηλήσεται ἡμᾶς ἐλθόντας εἰς τὴν Ελλάδα ἀπαγγεῖλαι, ὡς ἡμεῖς τοσοῦδε ὄντες ἐνικῶμεν τὴν βασιλέως δύναμιν ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις αὐτῆ, καὶ καταγελάσαντες ἀπήλθομεν. I have tranſcribed this Period, that the Reader may confront it with *d'Ablancourt*'s Tranſlation. Thus he has rendered it, *car il ne ſouffrira jamais que nous repaſſions en Grece pour y publier notre gloire & ſa honte.* This is one of thoſe many Periods in that Tranſlator, the Vivacity of which could not fail to pleaſe, were they not deſigned for Tranſlations.

BOOK II.

willingly ſuffer us to return to Greece, *and publiſh, that, being ſo few in number, we have defeated his Army at the very Gates of his Palace, and returned in triumph.*"——

CLEARCHUS replied to thoſe who alledged this; "*I conſider all theſe things as well as you; but I conſider at the ſame time, that, if we now depart, it will be thought, our Intention is to declare War, and to act contrary to the Terms of the Truce; the Conſequence of which, will be, that no one will provide a Market for us, or a Place, where we may ſupply ourſelves: beſides, we ſhall have no Guide to conduct us; and the moment we enter upon theſe Meaſures,* Ariæus *will deſert us; ſo that we ſhall preſently have no Friend left, and even thoſe, who were ſo before, will become our Enemies. I don't know whether we have any other River to paſs, but we all know that it is not poſſible for us to paſs the* Euphrates, *if the Enemy oppoſe it. If we are obliged to fight, we have no Horſe to aſſiſt us, whereas thoſe of the Enemy, are very numerous, and very good; ſo that, if we conquer, how many ſhall we be able to kill? And, if we are conquered, none of us can poſſibly eſcape. Therefore I don't*

don't see why the King, who is possessed of so many Advantages, should, if he desires to destroy us, think it necessary first to take an Oath, and pledge his Faith, then to provoke the Gods by Perjury, and shew both the Greeks *and* Barbarians, *how little that Faith is to be relied on.*" He said a great deal more to the same purpose.

In the mean time *Tissaphernes* arrived with his Forces, as if he designed to return home, and with him *Orontas* also with his Men, and the King's Daughter, whom he had married. From thence they began their march, *Tissaphernes* leading the way, and providing them with a Market. *Ariæus* marched at the Head of the *Barbarians*, who had served under *Cyrus*, with *Tissaphernes* and *Orontas*, and encamped with them. The *Grecks*, being diffident of these, marched by themselves, having Guides to conduct them. Each of them always encamped separately, at the distance of a Parasanga, or less; and were each upon their Guard against one another, as against an Enemy, and this immediately created a Suspicion: Sometimes, while they were providing them-

BOOK II.

themſelves with Wood, Forage, or other things of that nature, they came to Blows; which alſo bred ill Blood between them. After three days march, they came to, and paſſed through the Wall of *Media*, [i] which was built with *burned* Bricks laid in *Bitumen*; being twenty Feet in thickneſs, one hundred in height; and,

[i] Ην δὲ ὠκοδομημένον πλίνθοις ὀπταῖς ἐν ἀσφάλτῳ κειμέναις. The Walls of *Babylon* were alſo built with *burnt* Bricks cemented with *Bitumen* inſtead of Morter: ἑλκύσαντες δὲ, ſays *Herodotus*, πλίνθους ἱκανὰς, ὤπτησαν αὐτὰς ἐν καμίνοισι· μετὰ δὲ τέλματι χρεώμενοι ἀσφαλτῳ θερμῇ. I am convinced from theſe, and ſeveral other Paſſages among the Ancients, that they employed *raw* Bricks for many uſes, otherwiſe it cannot well be underſtood why theſe two Authors ſhould lay ſo much ſtreſs upon theſe Bricks being *burned*: but this is not all, I am perſuaded that the Directions given by *Vitruvius* and *Palladius*, for making Bricks, relate chiefly to *raw* Bricks, for they both direct the Earth, of which the Bricks are made, to be wrought up with *Straw*. Theſe Directions are, no doubt, very proper, where the Bricks are not to be *burned*, becauſe the Straw holds the Earth together; but, if Bricks made in this manner were to be *burned*, the conſequence would be, that the Straw being conſumed in the Fire, as many pieces of Straw as there were in every Brick, ſo many hollow places there would be in them. There is a Paſſage in *Pauſanias*, where he tells us, that *Ageſipolis*, making an Irruption into the Country of *Mantinea*, turned the River *Opius* that ran near the Town, againſt the Wall, and, by that means, diſſolved it; the reaſon he gives for it, is, that *it was built of raw Brick*, ὠμῆς ὠκοδομημένης τὸ τεῖχος. Upon this occaſion he ſays, that raw Bricks are better to reſiſt battering Engines, than Stones, becauſe they are not ſo ſubject to break and fly out of their Courſes; but then he adds, that raw Bricks are as eaſily diſſolved by Water, as Wax is by the Sun.

Herodot. *in* Clio.

Vitruvius 2 *B. c.* 3.

Palladius *in* May.

Pauſanias in Αρκα δικοῖς.

and, as it was ſaid, twenty Paraſangas in length, and not far from *Babylon*. BOOK II.

FROM thence they made, in two days march, eight Paraſangas, and paſſed two *Canals*, one upon a Bridge, the other upon ſeven Pontons: [k] Theſe *Canals* were derived from the *Tigres*; from them Ditches were cut that ran into the Country, the firſt, broad, then narrower, which at laſt ended in ſmall Watercourſes, ſuch as are uſed in *Greece* to water Panic. Thence they came to the River *Tigris*, near which ſtood a large and populous City, called *Sitace*, at the diſtance of fifteen Stadia from the River; the *Greeks* encamped cloſe to the Town, near a large and beautiful [l] Park, thick with Trees of every kind, and the *Barbarians* on the other ſide of the *Tigris*, but out of ſight of our Army. After Supper *Proxenus* and *Xenophon* happened to be walking before the [m] Quarter where the heavy-armed Men lay encamped;

[k] Αυται δ' ἦσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ. See note [x], page 80.

[l] Ἐρυμὸς Παραδείσου. See note [y], page 17.

[m] Πρὸ τῶν ὅπλων. See note [u], page 15.

BOOK II.

ed; when a Man came and aſked the Out-guards, where he might [n] ſpeak with *Proxenus* or *Clearchus*; but did not enquire for *Menon*, though he came from *Ariæus*, with whom *Menon* lived in [o] Hoſpitality: and, when *Proxenus* told him he was the Perſon he enquired after, the Man ſaid, *Ariæus* and *Artaezus*, who were faithful to *Cyrus*, and wiſh you well, ſent me to adviſe you to ſtand upon your guard, leſt the *Barbarians* attack you to-night, there being numerous Forces poſted in the neighbouring Park. They adviſe you alſo to ſend a Detachment to guard the Bridge over the *Tigris*, becauſe *Tiſſaphernes* deſigns, if he can, to break it down to-night; to the end, that you may not be able to paſs the River, but be ſhut in between the *Tigris*, and the *Canal*. Hereupon, they carried him to *Clear-*

[n] Πῇ ἂν ἴδοι Πρόξενον ἢ Κλέαρχον. Both the *Latin* Tranſlators have ſaid *ubinam Proxenum vel Clearchum reperirent*; *d'Ablancourt* has tranſlated it in the ſame Senſe. There is a Paſſage in *Thucydides* which induces me to differ from them; he ſays, τὸν Περσίκκαν — ἠνάγκασαν, πρὶν τὸν Βρασίδαν ἰδεῖν — προαπελθεῖν: where πρὶν τὸν Βρασίδαν ἰδεῖν is thus explained by the *Greek* Scholiaſt, πρὶν διαλεχθῆναι τῷ Βρασίδᾳ, ὕτω γὰρ οἱ Ἀττικοὶ λέγουσιν, ὡς τὸ ἰδεῖν τί σε ἐβουλόμην ἀντὶ τοῦ διαλεχθῆναι σέ τι. And indeed frequent Inſtances of this Atticiſm are to be met with in the beſt Authors. Thucydides, 4 *B.*

[o] Ξένε. See note [l], page 11.

Clearchus, and informed him of what he said; upon which, *Clearchus* was in great Trouble and Consternation; when a young Man, who was present, having considered the matter, said, "*To attack us, and break down the Bridge too, are things inconsistent; for it is plain, if they attack us, they must either conquer, or be conquered: if they conquer, why should they break down the Bridge? For, in that case, though there were many Bridges, we should have no Place to retreat to with safety: on the other side if we conquer them, and the Bridge be broken down, they themselves will have no Place to fly to; neither can the rest of their Army, though in great numbers on the other side, if they break it down, give them any Assistance.*" BOOK II.

CLEARCHUS, hearing this, asked the Messenger, [p] of what Extent the Country was, that lay between the *Tigris*, and the *Canal*: he answering; it was of

a

[p] Πόση τις εἴη χώρα. *D'Ablancourt* has visibly mistaken the Sense of this Expression, he says *Clearque demanda au Messager quel étoit le Païs entre le Tigre & le Canal*, whereas πόσος denotes *Quantity* not *Quality*, as the Grammarians speak, for which reason he should have said, *de quelle étendue étoit le Païs*; had *Xenophon* said ποία τις εἴη χώρα, his Translation would have been proper. The *Latin* Translators have rendered it as they ought. What I have said is justified by the Messenger's Answer, ὁ δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι πολλή.

BOOK II. a large Extent, and contained, beſides Villages, many large Cities; they concluded, that the *Barbarians* had ſent this Man inſidiouſly, [q] from an Apprehenſion, leſt

[q] Οκνοῦντες μὴ οἱ Ελληνες διελθόντες τὴν γέφυραν, μένοιεν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ. So the *Latin* Tranſlators give the Text, without taking any notice of a very great Difficulty that occurs in it; but, in order to underſtand this, let us caſt our Eyes upon the Situation of the *Greeks*. They had paſſed the laſt of the two *Canals*, that lay in their way, and were now encamped under the Walls of a Town called *Sitace*, that ſtood cloſe to the River *Tigris*; while they lay there, the *Perſians*, who were encamped on the other ſide of that River, ſent this inſidious Meſſage to them: But what was the occaſion of this Meſſage? Certainly not the fear, leſt the *Greeks*, *after they had paſſed the Bridge*, ſhould remain in the Iſland, *ne Græci cum tranſiiſſent Pontem, in Inſula manerent*, as *Hutchinſon* has tranſlated it. The Bridge, *Xenophon* has told us, lay over the *Tigris*, and the Iſland was the Country that lay between that River and the *Canal* they had already paſſed, which Iſland *Xenophon* has already told us in two places, was a large and plentiful Country, and very populous: The end of this Meſſage therefore was to divert the *Greeks* from ſtaying in this Iſland, for the Reaſons alledged by our Author, and the readieſt way to effect that, was, to induce them to paſs the *Tigris* immediately, from an Apprehenſion, leſt the Enemy ſhould break down the Bridge; and, that the View of the *Perſians* was to engage them to paſs the River, and not to prevent them from doing ſo, as *Hutchinſon* and *Leunclavius* have tranſlated it, appears very plainly from their Behaviour afterwards; for we find they did not attempt to moleſt them in their Paſſage. By this time I believe the Reader is ſatisfied there muſt be ſome fault in the Text, which I will venture to cure by the Addition of one little Word; if we read οκνοῦντες μὴ οἱ Ελληνες μὴ διελθόντες τὴν γέφυραν, μένοιεν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, the Senſe will be compleat; and, that this Correction, which is the firſt I have made, may not ſeem too bold, I will put the Reader in mind of a Paſſage in our Author, where there is exactly the ſame Turn of Phraſe,

Xenoph. ἀπομνημονευμάτων, I B.

left the *Greeks* ſhould not paſs the Bridge, but remain in the Iſland, which was defended on one ſide, by the *Tigris*, and on the other, by the *Canal*; where the Country, that lay between, being large, and fruitful, and in no want of Labourers to cultivate it, might both ſupply them with Proviſions, and afford them a Retreat, if they were diſpoſed to make War upon the King: after which, they went to Reſt; however, they ſent a Detachment to guard the Bridge: but no Attempt of any kind was made upon their Camp, neither did any of the Enemy come up to the Bridge, as the Guards informed us. The next Morning, by break of Day, they paſſed the Bridge, which was ſupported by thirty-ſeven Pontons, with all poſſible Precaution: for, ſome of the *Greeks*, who were with *Tiſſaphernes*, ſent word, that the Enemy de-

Phraſe, I am here contending for; he ſays of his Maſter *Socrates*, ἐθάυμαζε δ' εἴ τις ἀρετὴν ἐπαγγελλόμενος, ἀργύριον πράττοιτο, ἢ μὴ νομίζοι τὸ μέγιστον κέρδος ἔξειν, φίλον ἄνδρα κτησάμενος, ἀλλὰ φοβεῖτο μὴ ὁ γενόμενος καλὸς κἀγαθὸς, τῷ τὰ μέγιστα εὐεργετήσαντι μὴ τὴν μεγίστην χάριν ἔχοι. *D'Ablancourt*, by his Tranſlation, ſeems to have been aware of this Difficulty, in which he muſt be allowed to have the Advantage over the *Latin* Tranſlators, though neither he nor they have ſaid one Word to clear it up, or even to diſcover it.

BOOK II.

designed to attack them in their Paſſage; but this did not prove true. However, while they were paſſing the River, *Glus* appeared with ſome others, obſerving whether they paſſed it or not; when, perceiving they did, he rode off.

FROM the *Tigris* they made, in four days march, twenty Paraſangas, and came to the River *Phyſcus*, one hundred Feet in breadth, having a Bridge over it. Here ſtood a large and populous City, called *Opis*, where they were met by a natural Brother to *Cyrus* and *Artaxerxes*, who was marching to the Aſſiſtance of the King, at the head of a numerous Army, which he had drawn out of *Suſa* and *Ecbatana*; and, cauſing his Troops to halt, he took a view of the *Greeks*, as they paſſed by him. *Clearchus* led his Men two by two, ſtanding ſtill from time to time: Thus, while the Vanguard halted, the whole Army was obliged to ſtand ſtill which made their Forces appear very numerous, even to the *Greeks* themſelves, and the *Perſian* was ſtruck with the ſight. From thence they made, in ſix days march, thirty Paraſangas, through the de-

desert Part of *Media*, and arrived at the Villages belonging to *Paryſatis*, the Mother to *Cyrus* and *Artaxerxes*: Theſe *Tiſſaphernes*, to inſult the Memory of *Cyrus*, gave the *Greeks* leave to plunder of every thing but Slaves; by which means they found a great Quantity of Corn, [r] Cattle, and [s] other things. From thence they made twenty Paraſangas, in five days march through a desert, having the *Tigris* on their left. At the end of their firſt Day's march, they ſaw a large and rich City, on the other ſide of the River, called *Cænæ*; whence the *Barbarians* tranſported Bread, Cheeſe, and Wine [t] upon *Rafts* made of Skins. BOOK II.

AFTER that, they came to the River *Zabatus*, four hundred Feet in breadth, where they ſtaid three days, during which time, there were Jealouſies, but no Evidence of Treachery: *Clearchus* therefore reſolved to have a Conference with *Tiſſaphernes*, and, if poſſible, to put an end to theſe Jealouſies, before they broke out into

[r] Πρόβατα. Πρόβατα, πάντα τὰ τετράποδα. *Suidas.*

[s] Χρήματα. See note [r], page 35.

[t] Σχιδίαις. See note [t], page 60.

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into Hoſtilities: with this view he ſent a Perſon, to let him know that he deſired a Conference with him. *Tiſſaphernes* having readily anſwered, *he might come*; *Clearchus* ſpoke thus: "*I am ſenſible*, O Tiſſaphernes! *that we have ſworn, and pledged our Faith, not to do any Injury to one another. Notwithſtanding which, I obſerve you are upon your guard againſt us, as againſt an* Enemy; *and we, perceiving this, ſtand alſo upon our guard. But, ſince upon Conſideration I cannot find that you endeavour to do us any miſchief, and am very ſure that we have not the leaſt Thought of hurting you, I judged it proper to have a Conference with you, to the end that we might, if poſſible, extinguiſh our mutual Diffidence: for I have known Men, who, while through* Calumnies *or* Jealouſies, *they ſtood in fear of one another, have, with a View of inflicting a Miſchief before they received one, done irreparable Injuries to thoſe, who never had either the Intention, or Deſire to hurt them. As therefore I am of opinion, that ſuch Miſtakes are eaſieſt removed by Conferences, I come with an Intention of convincing you, that you have no reaſon to diſtruſt us: for to mention that firſt, which is of the greateſt moment*

ment; our Oaths, to which we have called the Gods to witneſs, forbid us to be Enemies; *and that Perſon who is conſcious to himſelf of having neglected them, in my opinion, can never be happy; for, whoever becomes the Object of divine Wrath, I know no Swiftneſs can ſave him, no Darkneſs hide him, no ſtrong Place defend him; ſince, in all Places, all Things are ſubject to their Power, and every where they are equally Lords of all. This is my Opinion concerning both our* Oaths, *and the* Gods, *whom, by our Agreement, we have made the* Depoſitaries *of our* Friendſhip. *As to human Advantages, I look upon you to be the greateſt we can promiſe ourſelves at this juncture; for, while we are with you, every Road is pervious, every River paſſable, and we are ſure to know no want: but, without you, every Road becomes obſcure, (for we are utterly unacquainted with them) every River impaſſable, every Multitude terrible, and Solitude the moſt terrible of all; for* [u] *that is at-*

BOOK II.

[u] Μετὰ πολλῆς ἀπορίας ἐστίν. The *Latin* Tranſlators do not ſeem to have attended to the general Contraſt there is between theſe two Periods, otherwiſe they would not have rendered μετὰ πολλῆς ἀπορίας, *multis difficultatibus refirta*; for, as ὁδὸς διὰ σκότους is oppoſed to ὁδὸς ἄπορος, and πᾶς ποταμὸς δύσπορος to πᾶς ποταμὸς διαβατὸς,

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attended with the want of every thing. If therefore we ſhould arrive to ſuch a degree of Madneſs, *as to put you to* death, *what ſhould we do elſe but deſtroy our* Benefactor, *and ſtill have the* King, *the moſt powerful of all* [x] Avengers, *to contend with? I ſhall now let you ſee what hopes I ſhould deprive myſelf of, if I endeavoured to hurt you. I deſired to make* Cyrus *my Friend, becauſe I looked upon him as the moſt capable of all Men living to ſerve thoſe he wiſhed well to. Now, I find, you have not only obtained the Army, but the Country, that belonged to* Cyrus, *as an Acceſſion to your own; and that the King's Power, of which he felt the* Weight, *is become your* Support. *In theſe Circumſtances therefore, who would be ſo mad as not to deſire to be your* Friend? *Yet further I ſhall let you know upon what I found my hopes, that you will alſo deſire to be a* Friend *to us:*

I

ϛατὸς, ſo μετὴ πολλῆς ἀπορίας is viſibly oppoſed to τῶν ῥᾳιτηδείων ἀπ ἀπορία. *D'Ablancourt* has, in my opinion, ſaid much better, *parce qu'elle traîne aprés ſoy la néceſſité.*

Sophoc. Ajax, v. 615.

[x] Ἐφιέρων. Ἐφιέρ⊙, according to the *Greek* Scholiaſt upon *Sophocles*, is properly ὁ παρεσκευασμένο⊙, ὅταν δύο τινὲς παλαίωσι, παλαιστὴν τῷ νικήσαντι. *Plutarch* very beautifully applies this to *Teleſinus*, who was very near defeating *Sylla*, after ſo many Victories, at the Gates of *Rome*, τὸν μέντοι τελευταῖον ἀγῶνα, καθάπερ ἵφιέρ⊙· ἀθλητὴς καταπόνῳ προσενιχθεὶς ὁ Σαννίτης Τιλεσίν⊙, ἰσχὺς ἦλθε τῷ σφῆλαι καὶ καταβαλεῖν ἐπὶ θύραις τῆς Ῥώμης. This cannot be preſerved in a modern Tranſlation.

Plutarch in his Life of Sylla.

I know the Mysians *are troublesome to you*; *these, with the Forces under my Command, I hope I can oblige to submit to your* Power: *I know the same thing of the* Pisidians, *and am informed that many other Nations are in the same Disposition, who, by my means, shall cease for ever to disturb your Happiness. I find you are incensed against the* [y] Egyptians, *more than against any other Nation, and cannot see what Forces you can better employ than ours, to assist you in chastising them. If you desire to be a* Friend *to any of your Neighbours, your* Friendship, *through our means, will become most* valuable; *and, if any of them molest you, you may, as their* Superior, *destroy them by our Assistance; for we shall not only be subservient to you for the sake of our* Pay, *but also in return for the* Obligation *we shall justly owe to you, as to our* Deliverer. *When I consider all these things I am so much surprized to find you diffident of us, that I would willingly know the Person, who is so powerful an* Orator, *as to persuade you, that we form* Designs *against you.*" *Tissaphernes* answered him as follows:

"*I*

[y] Αιγυπτίους. See note [l], page 120.

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" *I am pleaſed, O* Clearchus! *to hear you ſpeak with ſo much prudence; for, while you entertain theſe Thoughts, if you ſhould meditate any thing againſt me, you would, at the ſame time, act contrary to your own* Intereſt: *but do you hear me in your turn, while I inform you, that you yourſelves cannot, with juſtice, diſtruſt either the* King, *or me; for, if we were deſirous to deſtroy you, do you think we are in any want of numerous Horſe, or Foot to effect it? or of Arms defenſive and offenſive, with which we have it in our power to do you miſchief, without the danger of receiving any? Or do you think we want proper Places to attack you? Are there not ſo many Plains inhabited by our* Friends, *through which you muſt march with great* difficulty? *So many Mountains within your ſight, over which your Road lies, and which, by our poſſeſſing ourſelves of them, we can render impaſſable to you? So many Rivers which afford us the Advantage of chuſing out what numbers of you we think proper to engage? Some of theſe you cannot even paſs but by our Aſſiſtance. But ſay, we are inferior in all theſe: Fire at leaſt will prove ſuperior to the Fruits of the Earth. By burning theſe we can oppoſe Famine to you, with which,*

which, though you are ever ſo brave, you will not be able to contend. Why therefore ſhould we, who have ſo many Opportunities of making war upon you, none of which carry any Danger with them, chuſe the only one of all theſe, that is both impious and diſhonourable; the Refuge of thoſe, who are deſtitute of all others, diſtreſſed and driven to Extremities, and who, being at the ſame time wicked Men, reſolve to accompliſh their Deſigns through Perjury towards the Gods, and Breach of Faith towards Men? We are not, O Clearchus! *either ſo weak, or ſo void of* Reaſon. *When it was in our power to deſtroy you, why did we not attempt it? Be aſſured, the deſire I had of approving my* Fidelity *to the* Greeks *was the Reaſon; and that, as* Cyrus *marched againſt the King, relying on foreign Forces, from the Pay he gave them; ſo I might return home ſupported by the ſame Troops, from the* Obligations *I had conferred on them. As to the many things, in which you may be of ſervice to me, ſome of them you have mentioned; but I know, which is the greateſt: It is the Prerogative of the* King *to wear* [z] *an upright* Tur-

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[z] Τιάραν ὀρθήν. Moſt Authors who treat of the Affairs of *Perſia*, have taken notice of this Cuſtom; but there is

BOOK II. Turban *upon his Head; but, with your Assistance possibly another may, with some* Confidence, *wear it in his* Heart."

CLEARCHUS, thinking all he said to be true, replied; "*Since therefore we have so many Motives to be* Friends, *do not those, who, by* Calumnies, *endeavour to make us* Enemies, *deserve the severest Punishment?*" "*If you*, says *Tissaphernes*, *with the rest of the Generals, and Captains, think fit to come to me in publick, I will acquaint you with those, who aver that you have* Designs *against me and my Army.*" "*I will bring them all, says* Clearchus; *and, at the same time, let you know, in my turn, whence I received my Information concerning you.*" As soon as this Conference was over, *Tissaphernes* shewed him great Civility, and, desiring him to stay, entertained him at Supper. The next day *Clear-*

Herodot. *in* Thalia.

a Print of it on a *Persian* Monument found among the Ruins of *Persepolis* by *De Bruyn*, and given by *Gronovius* in his Notes upon *Herodotus*, to shew that this is the very Monument the latter says *Darius Hystaspes* caused to be erected in honour of his Horse and Groom, to whom he owed the Kingdom; I take no notice of the Reasons alledged by *Gronovius* to support his Conjecture, which seems well founded, because this Monument is here exhibited with another view, namely to let the Reader see the difference of the *Turbans* worn by the Kings and Subjects of *Persia*.

Clearchus, returning to the Camp, made it manifeſt that he entertained very friendly Thoughts of *Tiſſaphernes*, and gave an Account of what he propoſed. He ſaid, thoſe *Tiſſaphernes* demanded, ought to go to him; and that the Perſons who were found to be the *Authors* of theſe *Calumnies*, ought to be puniſhed as *Traitors* and ill-affected to the reſt of the *Greeks*: for he ſuſpected *Menon* to be one of them, knowing that he and *Ariæus* had been in Conference with *Tiſſaphernes*, and that he was forming a Party againſt him, and intriguing in order to draw the whole Army to a dependence upon himſelf; and, by that means, to recommend himſelf to *Tiſſaphernes*. *Clearchus* alſo himſelf was no leſs ſolicitous to engage the Eſteem of the whole Army, and to remove thoſe, who oppoſed him: but ſome of the Soldiers in contradiction to him, ſaid, that all the Generals and Captains ought not to go, neither ought they to truſt *Tiſſaphernes*. However, *Clearchus* ſo ſtrongly inſiſted upon it, that he prevailed to have five Generals, and twenty Captains ſent to him: about

BOOK II.

two

BOOK II. two hundred Soldiers followed, under colour of going to the Market.

WHEN they came to the Door of *Tiſſaphernes*, the Generals, *Proxenus* a *Bœotian*, *Menon* a *Theſſalian*, *Agias* an *Arcadian*, *Clearchus* a *Lacedæmonian*, and *Socrates* an *Achaian*, were called in; the Captains ſtaid without: Not long after, at the ſame Signal, thoſe who were within, were apprehended, and thoſe without, cut to pieces. After this, ſome of the *Barbarian* Horſe, ſcouring the Plain, killed all the *Greeks* they met with, both Freemen and Slaves. The *Greeks*, from their Camp, ſeeing theſe Excurſions of the Horſe, were ſurprized, and in doubt of what they were doing, 'till *Nicarchus*, an *Arcadian*, came flying from them, being wounded in the Belly, and bearing his Bowels in his Hands, and informed them of all that had paſſed. Upon this, the *Greeks* were amazed, and expecting they would immediately come and attack their Camp, ran to their Arms. But they did not all come; only *Ariæus* with *Arteaxus* and *Mithridates* came, Perſons who

who had ſhewn the greateſt Fidelity to *Cyrus*. However, the Interpreter of the *Greeks* ſaid, he ſaw the Brother to *Tiſſaphernes* with them, and knew him. They were followed by three hundred other *Perſians* clad in Armour; who, when they drew near, ordered, if any Generals or Captains of the *Greeks* were preſent, they ſhould advance, to the end, they might acquaint them with the King's Pleaſure. Upon this, the Generals, *Cleanor*, an *Orchomenian*, and *Sophænetus*, a *Stymphalian*, went out of the Camp with great Caution; and with them *Xenophon*, an *Athenian*, that he might learn what was become of *Proxenus*. (*Cheiriſophus* happened to be abſent, being employed, with others, in getting Proviſions in ſome Village.) When they came within hearing, *Ariæus* ſaid, "*Clearchus*, O *Greeks! having been found guilty of a* Violation *both of his* Oath, *and of the Articles of Peace, is juſtly puniſhed with* death; *while* Proxenus, *and* Menon, *for having given Information of his* Deſigns, *are in great* honour. *Of you, the King demands your Arms, for he ſays they are his,*

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BOOK II. *as having belonged to* Cyrus, *who was his* [a] *Subject.*"

HEREUPON, the *Greeks* made anſwer, *Cleanor* the *Orchomenian*, ſpeaking in the Name of the reſt: "O *Ariæus! thou moſt wicked of all Men, and the reſt of you, who were Friends to* Cyrus! *have you no regard either to the* Gods *or* Men? *You, who after you have ſworn to us to look upon our* Friends *and* Enemies *as your own, now conſpire with* Tiſſaphernes, *the moſt* impious *and* deceitful *of all Men, to* betray *us; and having* [b] *both deſtroyed thoſe Perſons, to whom you gave your* Oaths, *and deceived the reſt of us, now come with our Enemies to in-*

[a] Δοῦλος. Literally his Slave; this, it ſeems, was the Style of the *Perſian* Court, which not only treated their Subjects as Slaves, but had the Inſolence to call them ſo.

[b] Οἷς ὤμνυτε ὡς ἀπολωλέκατε. *Hutchinſon*, with great reaſon, finds fault with *Leunclavius* for tranſlating this, *Sacramento confirmabati; vos planè periiſſe*; but takes no notice of the Difficulty ariſing from the Particle ὡς, which, I own, weighs ſo much with me, that I cannot perſuade my ſelf *Xenophon* wrote τούς τε ἄνδρας αὐτοὺς, οἷς ὤμνυτε, ὡς ἀπολωλέκατε; at leaſt not in the Senſe he has tranſlated it, *poſteaquam viros ipſos, quibus dediſtis Jusjurandum perdidiſtis.* If, inſtead of ὡς ἀπολωλέκατε, we might venture to read ἀπολωλεκότες, without ὡς, I think the Period would be more intelligible: I believe it will be owned, that ἀπολωλεκότες agrees very well with προδιδωκότες in the following Sentence, and it ſeems to have been the Author's Deſign to connect them together with the Particles τε and καί.

invade us?" To this *Ariæus* answered, "*But it first appeared that* Clearchus *was forming* Designs *against* Tissaphernes, Orontas, *and all the rest of us.*" Upon this, *Xenophon* replied, "*If* Clearchus, *contrary to his* Oath, *has been guilty of a* Violation *of the* Peace, *he is* justly *punished; for it is just, that those who are guilty of* Perjury, *should be put to* death. *However, send* Proxenus *and* Menon *to us, since they are both your Benefactors, and our Commanders: For it is evident, that, being Friends to both of us, they will endeavour to advise that, which is best for both.*" To this the *Barbarians* made no answer, but, having conferred together for a considerable time, they departed. —— BOOK II.

THE Generals being thus apprehended, were carried [c] to the King, by whose Orders their Heads were cut off. One [d] of them, *Clearchus*, was allowed by all that knew him to have been a Man both of a military Genius, and one who delighted in War to the last degree. For, as long as the *Lacedæmonians* were at war with

[c] Ὡς βασιλιά. See note [t], page 14.

[d] Εἰς μὲν αὐτῶν Κλέαρχος. See the Introduction.

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with the *Athenians*, he continued in the Service of his Country; but, after the Peace, he perſuaded his Fellow-Citizens, that the *Thracians* oppreſſed the *Greeks*, and having prevailed on the *Ephori*, [c] by ſome means or other, he ſet ſail with a deſign to make war upon the *Thracians*, who inhabit above the *Cherſoneſus* and *Perinthus*. After his Departure the Ephori, for ſome reaſons, changed their Minds, and recalled him from the *Iſthmus*; but he refuſed to obey them, and ſailed away for the *Helleſpont*; whereupon, he was condemned to die by the Magiſtrates of *Sparta*, as guilty of Diſobedience. Being now a baniſhed Man, he comes to *Cyrus*, and by what means he gained his Con-

[c] Παρὰ τῶν Εφόρων. The ancient Authors do not agree concerning the Perſon who inſtituted theſe Magiſtrates. *Herodotus* attributes their Inſtitution to *Lycurgus*, and *Xenophon* to him, jointly with the moſt conſiderable Citizens of *Sparta*. On the other hand, *Plutarch* ſays *Theopompus*, who reigned many Years after *Lycurgus*, was the Author of it However, this is certain, that the three Orders of the State, that is, the two Kings, the Senators, all the Magiſtrates, even during their Magiſtracy, and the People were ſubject to their Power. But the thing that gives the greateſt Relief to the Reputation of their College, is, that it ſerved as a Model to the Inſtitution of the *Roman* Tribunes, who, like the Ephori, were only five in number, 'till the Year of *Rome* 297, and the firſt of the 81 Olympiad, *C. Horatius* and *Q. Minucius* being Conſuls, when five more were added to them.

Herodot. *in* Clio. Xenoph. *of the* Lacedæmonian *Commonwealth*. Plutarch *Life of* Lycurg. Xenop. *ib.* Dionyſ. Hal. 6 *B.* *Ib.* 10 *B.*

Confidence, has been mentioned in another place: *Cyrus* gave him ten thouſand [f] *Daricks*. Having received this Money, he did not give himſelf up to Indolence, but, raiſing an Army with it, made war upon the *Thracians*; and, over-coming them in Battle, plundered their Country, and continued the War, 'till *Cyrus* had occaſion for his Army, when he departed with a deſign of attending him in his Expedition.——

BOOK II.

THESE therefore ſeem to be the Actions of a Man delighting in War, [g] who, when it is in his power to live in Peace without Detriment or Diſhonour, prefers War; when to live in Eaſe, chuſes Labour, with a View to War; and when to enjoy Riches without danger, chuſes rather, by making War, to diminiſh them: ſo that he ſpent his Money in War, as chearfully as if it had been in Gal-

[f] Δαρεικές. See note [m], page 9.

[g] Ὅστις, ἐξὸν μὲν εἰρήνην ἔχειν ἄνευ αἰσχύνης καὶ βλάβης, αἱρεῖται πολεμεῖν. *D'Ablancourt* has ſtrangely miſtaken this Paſſage, thus he has rendered it, *que pouvant vivre en Repos aprés la Paix, cherche la guerre aux dépens même de ſon honneur, & de ſa vie*: This he ſays is ſtronger than the Text: but I believe the Reader will be of opinion, that inſtead of ſtrengthening the Author's Senſe, he has deſtroyed it.

BOOK II.

Gallantry, or any other Pleaſure: ſo much he delighted in it. His Genius for War appeared by his Forwardneſs to expoſe himſelf, and to attack the Enemy either by Night or Day, and by his Conduct in danger; as thoſe who attended him upon all occaſions, univerſally acknowledged. He was ſaid to have poſſeſſed the Art of commanding, as far as could be expected from a Man of his Temper: for, being as capable, as any other, of taking care his Army was ſupplied with Proviſions, and of providing them, he was not leſs ſo of inſpiring thoſe, who were preſent, with a Dread of diſobeying *Clearchus*. This he effected by Severity; for his Look was ſtern, and his Voice harſh: He always puniſhed with Rigour, and frequently in Paſſion; ſo that he ſometimes repented it. But he alſo inflicted Puniſhments with Deliberation, looking upon an Army without Diſcipline to be of no ſervice. He is reported to have ſaid, that [h] a Soldier ought to

[h] Ὡς δέοι στρατιώτην φοβεῖσθαι μᾶλλον, &c. This Saying of *Clearchus* is imitated by *Livy*, where *Camillus*, having reſtored the *Roman* Army to its ancient Diſcipline, *effecit*, ſays he, *ne hoſtis maxime timendus militi eſſet*. *D'Ablancourt* has thought fit to leave out above half this Period

Livy, *B.* V.

to fear his Commander more than the Enemy, if it is expected that he ſhould do his Duty upon Guard, abſtain from what belongs to a Friend, or attack the Enemy without Reluctance. In Dangers the Men obeyed him abſolutely, nor ever deſired to be commanded by any other; for they ſaid his Sternneſs ſeemed then changed to Chearfulneſs, and his Severity to Reſolution; ſo that they look-ed upon it no longer as Severity, but as their Preſervation. However, when the Danger was over, and they had an op-portunity of ſerving under other Com-manders, many of them left him; for he was not in the leaſt gracious but always rough and cruel: ſo that the Soldiers were in the ſame Diſpoſition to him, as Scholars to their Maſter; none ever fol-lowing him out of Friendſhip or Good-will. Thoſe, who were appointed by his Country, or compelled through Want, or any other Neceſſity to ſerve under him, were perfectly obedient to him. And, when they began to conquer under his Command, many things concurred to make

riod, the reaſon he gives for it is, *parce qu'il ne faut rien ajouter à un bon mot:* but ſure this is a liberty no Tran-ſlator ought to indulge himſelf in.

BOOK II.

make them good Soldiers: for their Confidence in their own Strength, joined to their Fear of him, made them obſervant. This was his Character as a Commander: but it was ſaid that he was unwilling to be commanded by others. When he died, he was about fifty Years of Age.——

PROXENUS, the *Bœotian*, even from a Child, was deſirous of becoming equal to great Employments; and, to ſatisfy this deſire, gave a Sum of Money to [i] *Gorgias* the *Leontine*. After he had been ſome time with him, thinking himſelf now both able to command, and, if he

Diod. Sic. 12 *B.*

[i] Γοργίᾳ. This *Gorgias* was a celebrated Maſter of Eloquence. He ſo far ſurpaſſed all the reſt of his Profeſſion, that *Diodorus Siculus* tells us he received no leſs from his Scholars than one hundred Minæ, that is, l. 322 : 18 : 4 Sterling. This *Gorgias*, it ſeems, was at the head of the Embaſſy which the *Leontines* ſent to *Athens*, the ſecond Year of the 88th Olympiad, to deſire their Aſſiſtance againſt the *Syracuſans*. In the firſt Audience he had of the *Athenians*, his Eloquence, or rather the Novelty of it, ſo inchanted that People, who were great Admirers of both, that they were unfortunately prevailed upon to engage in the *Sicilian* War, the Event of which gave them ſo fatal a Blow, they could never recover it. *Diodorus Siculus* ſays alſo, that he was the Inventor of the Art of Rhetoric, and the firſt who made uſe of ſtudied Figures and laboured Antitheſes of equal Length, and the ſame Termination; this manner of ſpeaking, the ſame Author ſays, pleaſed at firſt from its Novelty, but was afterwards looked upon as affected, and, if frequently practiſed, ridiculous.

Arbuthnot *of ancient Coins.*

Diod. Sic. 12 *B.*

he entered into the friendſhip of great Men, to return all Obligations, he engaged in this Enterprize with *Cyrus*, whence he promiſed to himſelf great Reputation, great Power, and great Riches: Though he was earneſt in the purſuit of theſe, yet on the other ſide his Conduct plainly ſhewed that he did not deſire to gain any of them through *Injuſtice*; but that he ought to attain them with *Juſtice* and *Honour*, and not otherwiſe. He was very capable of commanding an orderly and a well-diſciplined Army; but incapable of inſpiring Reſpect or Fear, and ſtood in greater Awe of his Men, than they of him; it being viſible, that he was more afraid of diſobliging them, than they of diſobeying him. It was his opinion, that all which was required to be, and ſeem to be equal to the Command, was to praiſe *worthy* Men, and not to praiſe the *unworthy*; for which reaſon he was beloved by Men of Worth and Honour, while ill Men were for ever forming Deſigns againſt him, as againſt a Man eaſy to be circumvented. He was about thirty Years old, when he died. ——

BOOK II.

BOOK II.

MENON the *Theſſalian*, did not either conceal his immoderate Deſire of Riches; or his Deſire of commanding, in order to increaſe them; or of being eſteemed for the ſame reaſon. He deſired to be well with thoſe in Power, that his Injuſtice might eſcape Puniſhment. He thought the ſhorteſt ways to accompliſh his Deſigns were Perjury, Falſhood, and Deceit; and that Simplicity and Truth were Weakneſſes. He was obſerved to have no Affection for any Man, and, where he profeſſed a Friendſhip, it was viſible he deſigned to betray. He never ſpoke with Contempt of an Enemy, but was ever turning all thoſe he converſed with into ridicule. He never formed any Deſign againſt the Poſſeſſions of an Enemy, (for he thought it difficult to rob thoſe who were upon their guard) but looked upon himſelf as the only Perſon that was ſenſible how very eaſy it is to ſeize the unguarded Poſſeſſions of a Friend. He ſtood in fear of thoſe whom he obſerved to be guilty of Perjury and Injuſtice, as of Men well armed; but practiſed upon Perſons of Piety and Truth, as upon thoſe, who are defenceleſs.

BOOK II.

leſs. And, as others value themſelves upon Religion, Veracity, and Juſtice, ſo *Menon* valued himſelf upon being able to deceive, to invent Falſhoods and abuſe his Friends; and looked upon thoſe as ignorant, who were without Guile. When he endeavoured to gain the firſt place in any Man's Friendſhip, he thought the moſt effectual way of recommending himſelf, was by ſlandering thoſe who were in poſſeſſion of it. He ſought to make himſelf obeyed by the Soldiers, by becoming an Accomplice in their Crimes, and aimed at being eſteemed and courted, by ſhewing that he had both the Power and the Will to commit great Injuſtice. If any one forſook him, he ſpoke of it as a favour, that while he made uſe of his Service, he did not deſtroy him. Whatever is not publicly known in this Man's Character, may ſeem to be feigned, but the following Particulars all the World is acquainted with. While he was in the Flower of his Youth he obtained the Command of the Mercenaries in the Service of *Ariſippus*. At that Age alſo he was in great favour with *Ariæus*, a *Barbarian*, becauſe he delighted in

BOOK II.

beautiful Youths; and before he himſelf had a Beard, he had a bearded Favourite, called *Tharypas*. When the reſt of the Generals ſuffered for having made war againſt the King with *Cyrus*, he though equally guilty, did not loſe his Life; but was afterwards puniſhed with death by the King, not like *Clearchus*, and the reſt of the Generals, by loſing his Head, which was looked upon as the moſt *honourable* Death; but, as it is ſaid, after he had been tortured, a whole Year, like a Malefactor. ——

AGIAS, the *Arcadian*, and *Socrates*, the *Achaian*, were both put to death at the ſame time; theſe were without Reproach both in War, and Friendſhip. They were then about forty Years of Age. ——

The End of the Second Book.

THE

THE

EXPEDITION

OF

CYRUS.

BOOK III.

IN the foregoing Diſcourſe, we have related the Actions of the *Greeks* during the Expedition of *Cyrus* to the Battle, and what happened after his Death, when the *Greeks* marched away with *Tiſſaphernes* upon the Peace. After the Generals were apprehended, and the Captains and Soldiers who accompanied them, put to death, the *Greeks* were in great

BOOK III.

great diſtreſs; knowing they were not far from the King's Palace, ſurrounded on all ſides with many Nations and many Cities, all their Enemies; that no one would any longer ſupply them with Proviſions; that they were diſtant from *Greece* above ten thouſand Stadia, without a Guide to conduct them, and their Road thither intercepted by impaſſable Rivers; that even thoſe *Barbarians*, who had ſerved under *Cyrus*, had betrayed them, and that they were now left alone without any Horſe to aſſiſt them. By which it was evident, that if they overcame the Enemy, they could not deſtroy a Man of them in the Purſuit, and if they themſelves were overcome, not one of them could eſcape. Theſe Reflections ſo diſheartened them, that few eat any thing that Evening, few made Fires, and many that Night never came to their [a] Quarter, [b] but laid themſelves down, every

[a] Ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα. See note [u], page 15. Here it plainly ſignifies that part of the Camp, which was appointed for the Quarters of the ſeveral Companies, particularly of the heavy-armed Men. *D'Ablancourt* has left it out, as he generally does this Expreſſion where he meets with it.

[b] Ἀνεπαύετο δὲ ὅπῃ ἐτύγχανεν ἕκαστος, οὐ δυνάμενοι καθεύδειν ὑπὸ λύπης καὶ πόθου πατρίδων, γονέων, γυναικῶν, παίδων, οὓς οὔ ποτε ἐνόμιζον ἔτι ὄψεσθαι. This Period, ſo beautifully melan-

every Man in the place where he happened to be, unable to ſleep through Sorrow, and a Longing for their Country, their Parents, their Wives and Children, whom they never expected to ſee again: In this Diſpoſition of Mind, they all laid down to reſt. BOOK III.

THERE was in the Army, an *Athenian*, by Name, *Xenophon*, who, without being a General, a Captain, or a Soldier, ſerved as a Volunteer: for, having been long attached to *Proxenus* by the Rights of Hoſpitality, the latter ſent for him from home, with a promiſe, if he came, to recommend him to *Cyrus*; from whom, he ſaid, he expected greater Advantages, than from his own Country. *Xenophon* having read the Letter, conſulted *Socrates* the *Athenian* concerning the Voyage, who 'fearing leſt his Country might look upon his Attachment to *Cyrus* as criminal, becauſe that Prince was thought to have eſpouſed the Intereſt of the *Lacedæmo-*

nians

melancholy, is cruelly mangled by *d'Ablancourt*, whoſe Tranſlation I ſhall alſo tranſcribe, that the Reader may compare it with the Original. *Ils étoient ſi abbatus qu'ils ne pouvoient repoſer, comme ne devant plus revoir ni femme, ni enfants, ni patrie.*

[c] Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ὑποπτίυσας. See the Introduction.

BOOK III.

nians againſt the *Athenians* with great Warmth, adviſed *Xenophon* to go to *Delphos*, and conſult the God of the Place concerning the Matter. *Xenophon* went thither accordingly and aſked *Apollo*, to which of the Gods he ſhould offer Sacrifice, and addreſs his Prayers, to the end that he might perform the Voyage he propoſed in the beſt and moſt reputable manner, and, after a happy Iſſue of it, return with ſafety. *Apollo* anſwered, that he ſhould ſacrifice to the proper Gods. At his Return, he acquainted *Socrates* with this Anſwer; who blamed him, becauſe he had not aſked *Apollo* in the firſt place, whether it were better for him to undertake this Voyage, than to ſtay at home: but, having himſelf firſt determined to undertake it, he had conſulted him concerning the moſt proper means of performing it with ſucceſs: but, ſince ſays he, you have aſked this, you ought to do what the God has commanded. *Xenophon* therefore, having offered Sacrifice to the Gods according to the Direction of the Oracle, ſet ſail, and found *Proxenus* and *Cyrus* at *Sardes* ready to march towards the *Upper Aſia*. Here he was preſented to *Cyrus*, and *Proxenus* preſſing him

him to ſtay, *Cyrus* was no leſs earneſt in perſuading him, and aſſured him, that, as ſoon as the Expedition was at an end, he would diſmiſs him; this he pretended was deſigned againſt the *Piſidians*. BOOK III.

XENOPHON, therefore, thus impoſed on, engaged in the Enterprize, though *Proxenus* had no ſhare in the Impoſition, for none of the *Greeks*, beſides *Clearchus*, knew it was intended againſt the King: but, when they arrived in *Cilicia*, every one ſaw [d] the Expedition was deſigned againſt him. Then, though they were terrified at the length of the way, and unwilling to go on, yet the greateſt part of them, out of [e] a regard both to one another, and to *Cyrus*, followed

[d] Ὁ Στόλος. See note [u], page 15.

[e] Δι' αἰσχύνην δὲ ἀλλήλων. Where any number of Men are embarked in the ſame Deſign, they generally meet with ſucceſs, but always deſerve it, if they are once brought to be ambitious of one another's Praiſes, and to ſtand in awe of one another's Reproaches. *Homer*, who knew every Spring of the human Soul, was ſenſible how powerful a Motive this mutual Reſpect is to a proper Behaviour in a Day of Battle, when he makes *Agamemnon* ſay to his Men,

Αλλήλους τ' αἰδεῖσθε κατὰ κρατερὰς ὑσμίνας·
Αἰδομένων ἀνδρῶν πλέονες σόοι, ἠὲ φέβονται. Homer Il. 5.

By the way, 'tis from this Senſe of the word αἰδὼς, that the *Latin* Authors have uſed *verecundia* to ſignify *Reſpect*.

BOOK III.

lowed him: and *Xenophon* was of this number. When the *Greeks* were in this diſtreſs, he had his ſhare in the general Sorrow, and was unable to reſt. However, getting a little ſleep, he dreamed he thought it thundered, and that a Flaſh of Lightning fell upon his paternal Houſe, which upon that was all in a blaze. Immediately he awoke in a fright, and looked upon his Dream as happy in this reſpect, becauſe, while he was engaged in Difficulties and Dangers, he ſaw a great light proceeding from *Jupiter*. On the other ſide, he was full of fear, when he conſidered that this Dream was ſent by *Jupiter* the King, and that the Fire, by blazing all round him, might portend, that he ſhould not be able to get out of the King's Territories, but ſhould be ſurrounded on all ſides with Difficulties. ——

HOWEVER the Events, which were conſequent to this Dream, ſufficiently explain the Nature of it; for preſently theſe Things happened: As ſoon as he awoke, the firſt Thought that occurred to him was this, Why do I lie here? the Night

Night wears away, and as ſoon as the Day appears, it is probable the Enemy will come and attack us; and if we fall under the Power of the King, [f] what can preſerve us from being Spectators of the moſt tragical Sights, from ſuffering the moſt cruel Torments, and from dying with the greateſt Ignominy? Yet no one makes Preparation for Defence, or takes any Care about it: but here we lie, as if we were allowed to live in Quiet. From what City therefore do I expect a General to perform theſe things? What Age do I wait for? But, if I abandon my ſelf to the Enemy this Day, I ſhall never live to ſee another. Upon this, he roſe, and firſt aſſembled the Captains who had ſerved under *Proxenus*; and, when they were together, he ſaid to them, "*Gentlemen! I can neither ſleep, (which, I ſuppoſe, is your caſe alſo) nor lie any longer, when I conſider the Condition to which we are reduced. For it is plain the Enemy would not*

BOOK III.

[f] Τί ἐμποδὼν μὴ οὐχὶ πάντα μὲν τὰ χαλεπώτατα ἐπιδόντας, πάντα δὲ τὰ δεινότατα παθόντας, ὑβριζομένης ἀποθανεῖν; Thus tranſlated by *d'Ablancourt*, *quelle eſperance nous reſte-t'il que d'une mort cruelle?* So pathetick a Deſcription of the Miſeries, which our Author had then in view, deſerved, methinks, that he ſhould have been more particular in his Tranſlation.

BOOK III.

not have declared War againſt us, had they not firſt made the neceſſary Preparations: while, on our ſide, none takes any care how we may reſiſt them in the beſt manner poſſible. If we are remiſs, and fall under the Power of the King, what have we to expect from him, who cut off the Head and Hand of his own Brother, even after he was dead, and fixed them upon a Stake? How then will he treat us, who have no ſupport, and have made war againſt him, with a deſign to reduce him, from the Condition of a King, to that of a Subject, and, if it lay in our power, to put him to death? Will he not try the power of every Extremity, to the End, that, by torturing us in the moſt ignominious manner, he may deter all Men from ever making war againſt him? We ought therefore to do every thing rather than fall into his Hands. While the Peace laſted, I own, I never ceaſed to conſider ourſelves, as extremely miſerable, and the King, with thoſe who belonged to him, equally happy: When I caſt my Eyes around, and beheld how ſpacious and beautiful a Country, they were Maſters of, how they abounded in Proviſions, Slaves, Cattle, Gold, and rich Apparel; and, on the other hand, reflected on the Situation of our Men, who

who had no ſhare of all theſe Advantages, without paying for them, which I knew very few were any longer able to do, and that our Oaths forbad us to provide ourſelves by any other means; when I reflected, I ſay, on theſe things, I was more afraid of Peace than now I am of War. But, ſince they have put an end to the Peace, there ſeems to be an end alſo both of their Inſolence, and our Jealouſy: And theſe Advantages lie now as a Prize between us, to be given to the braveſt: In this [g] *Combat the Gods are the Umpires, who will, with Juſtice, declare in our favour; for our Enemies have provoked them by Perjury, while we, ſurrounded with every thing to tempt us, have, with Conſtancy, abſtained from all, that we might preſerve our Oaths inviolate: So that, in my opinion, we have reaſon to engage in this Combat with greater Confidence than they. Beſides, our Bodies are more patient of Cold, of Heat, and of Labour than theirs; and our Minds, with the divine Aſſiſtance, more reſolved: And if, as before, the Gods vouchſafe to grant us the Victory, their Men will be more obnoxious to Wounds and* BOOK III.

[g] Ἀγωνοθέται δ' οἱ θεοὶ ἔσονται. This alludes to the Umpires, who were choſen to preſide at the Olympick and other Games: This Alluſion, which gives great Beauty to the whole Paſſage, is entirely left out by *d'Ablancourt*.

BOOK III.

and Death. But possibly others may also entertain these Thoughts: For Heaven's sake then, let us not stay 'till those who do come and encourage us to glorious Actions, but let us prevent them, and excite even them to Virtue. Shew yourselves the bravest of all the Captains, and the most worthy to command of all the Generals. As for me, [h] *if you desire to lead the way in this, I will follow you with Chearfulness; and if you appoint me to be your Leader, I* [i] *shall not excuse myself by reason of my Age, but think myself even in the Vigour of it to repel an Injury.* ——

THE Captains, hearing this, all desired he would take upon him the Command, except a certain Person, by Name *Appollonides*, who affected to speak in the *Bœotian* Dialect. This Man said, that, whoever proposed any other means of returning to *Greece*, than by endeavouring to persuade the King to consent to it, talked impertinently; and, at the same time,

[h] Εἰ μὲν ἐθέλετε ἡγεμὼν ἐπὶ ταῦτα. The Reader will observe, that ἡγεμόω is here used neutrally, it was used actively a few Lines above.

[i] Οὐδὲν προφασίζομαι τὴν ἡλικίαν. See note [k], page 120. and particularly the Life of *Xenophon*.

time, began to recount the Difficulties they were engaged in. But *Xenophon* interrupting him, said, "*Thou most admirable Man! who art both insensible of what you see, and forgetful of what you hear. You were present, when the* King, *after the* Death *of* Cyrus, *exulting in his Victory, sent to us to deliver up our Arms, and when, instead of delivering them up, we marched out ready to give him Battle, and encamped near him, what did he leave undone by sending Embassadors, begging Peace, and supplying us with Provisions, 'till he had obtained it? And afterwards, when our Generals and Captains went to confer with them, as you advise us to do, without their Arms, relying on the Peace, what has been their Treatment? Are not these unfortunate Men daily scourged,* [k] *tortured, and insulted, and forbid even to die, though, I dare say, they earnestly desire it?*

BOOK III.

[k] Κεντούμενοι. I have ventured to depart from the *Latin* Translators in rendering this Word; *Leunclavius* has said *vulneribus affecti*, and *Hutchinson vulnera passi*; *d'Ablancourt* has left it out: I have translated it *tortured*; in the same Sense *Xenophon*, a little above, speaking of the Usage the *Greeks* were to expect, if they fell into the King's hands, says ἡμᾶς τὰ αἴσχιστα αἰκισάμενος, and a little before that πάντα τὰ δεινότατα παθόντας. It is from this Sense of the word κεντέω, that *Suidas* tells us a Thief is called κέντρων, because, as he says, κέντρα were part of their Torture. κέντρων ὁ κλέπτης· διὰ τὸ βασανιζομένοις τοῖς κλέπταις ἢ κέντρα προσφέρεσθαι.

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it? When you know all this, can you say that those, who exhort us to defend ourselves, talk impertinently, and dare you advise us to sue again to the King for favour? For my part, Gentlemen! I think we ought not to admit this Man any longer into our Company, but use him as he deserves, by removing him from his Command, and employing him in carrying our Baggage: for, by being a Greek *with such a Mind, he is a Shame to his Country, and dishonours all* Greece."

THEN *Agasias* of *Stymphalus* said, "*This Man has no relation to* Bœotia, *or to any other Part of* Greece; *for to my knowledge, both his Ears are bored, like a* Lydian. Which was found to be true: so they expelled him their Company. The rest went to all the Quarters of the Army, and where any Generals were left, they called them up; where they were wanting, their Lieutenants; and where there were any Captains left, they called up them. When they were all assembled, they placed themselves [1] before the Quarter, where the heavy-armed Men lay encamped; the Number of the Generals and

[1] Εἰς τὸ πρόσθιν τῶν ὅπλων. See note [1], page 130.

and Captains amounting to about a hundred. While this was doing, it was near Midnight. Then *Hieronymus* of *Elis*, the Oldeſt of all the Captains, who had ſerved under *Proxenus*, began thus: "*Gentlemen! we have thought proper, in the preſent Juncture both to aſſemble ourſelves, and call you together, to the end we may, if poſſible, conſider of ſomething to our Advantage. Do you,* O Xenophon! *repreſent to them what you have laid before us.*" Upon this, *Xenophon* ſaid: BOOK III.

"*We are all ſenſible that the* King, *and* Tiſſaphernes, *have cauſed as many of us as they could to be apprehended, and it is plain they deſign, by the ſame treacherous means, if they can, to deſtroy the reſt. We ought, therefore, in my opinion, to attempt every thing, not only to prevent our falling under their* Power, *but, if poſſible, to ſubject them to ours. Know then, that, being aſſembled in ſo great Numbers, you have the faireſt of all Opportunities; for all the Soldiers fix their Eyes on you: if they ſee you diſheartened, their Courage will forſake them; but, if you appear reſolute yourſelves, and exhort them to do their Duty, be aſſured, they will follow you,*

BOOK III.

and endeavour to imitate your Example. It ſeems alſo reaſonable that you ſhould excel them in ſome degree, for you are their Generals, *their* Leaders, *and their* Captains: *and, as in time of* Peace *you have the Advantage of them both in* Riches *and* Honours, [m] *ſo now in time of* War, *you ought to challenge the Pre-eminence in* Courage, *in* Counſel, *and, if neceſſary, in* Labour. *In the firſt place then, it is my Opinion, that you will do great* ſervice *to the* Army, *if you take care that* Generals *and* Captains *are immediately choſen in the room of thoſe who are ſlain: Since, without Chiefs, nothing either great or profitable can indeed be atchieved upon any occaſion, but leaſt of all in* War.

[m] Καὶ νῦν τοίνυν, ἐπεὶ πόλεμός ἐστιν, ἀξιῶν δεῖ ὑμᾶς αὐτὰς ἀμείνας τε τῦ πλήθυς εἶναι, καὶ προβουλεύειν τύτων, καὶ προπονεῖν, ἢν πῦ δέῃ. *D'Ablancourt* has left out every Tittle of this fine Period, the reaſon he gives for it in his own Words, is, *parce qu'elle eſt déja exprimée*: I am afraid the Reader will not think that Reaſon to have much weight. The *Attick* Writers, when they ſpeak of their own Affairs, always uſe the word προβούλευμα, for an Act paſſed by the Senate, before it was ſent down to the People; for the ſame reaſon the *Greek* Writers of the *Roman* Hiſtory call a *Senatus conſultum* προβούλευμα, and this Senſe ſeems to agree better with διαφέρειν and ἐπλεονεκτεῖτε, which our Author applies to the Generals a few Lines above, and which ſeem very naturally to introduce ἀμείνας εἶναι, προβουλεύειν, and προπονεῖν: The *Latin* Tranſlators have given it another Senſe; *Leunclavius* has ſaid *horum cauſâ Conſilia ſuſcipienda*, and *Hutchinſon pro iis Conſilia capere*; the Deciſion therefore is left to the Reader.

War. *For, as Diſcipline preſerves Armies, ſo the want of it has already been fatal to many. After you have appointed as many Commanders, as are neceſſary, I ſhould think it highly ſeaſonable for you to aſſemble and encourage the reſt of the Soldiers; for no doubt you muſt have obſerved, as well as I, how dejectedly they came to their Quarters, and how heavily they went upon Guard: So that, while they are in this Diſpoſition, I don't know what Service can, either by Night or Day, be expected from them. They have at preſent nothing before their Eyes, but Sufferings, if any one could turn their Thoughts to Action, it would greatly encourage them. For you know, that, neither Numbers nor Strength give the Victory: but that ſide which, with the aſſiſtance of the Gods, attacks with the greateſt Reſolution, is generally irreſiſtable. I have taken notice alſo, that thoſe Men who in War ſeek to preſerve their Lives at any rate commonly* die *with* Shame *and* Ignominy; *while thoſe who look upon Death as common to all, and unavoidable, and are only ſolicitous to* die *with* honour, *oftener arrive at old Age, and while they live, live happier. As therefore we are ſenſible of theſe things, it behoves us at this cri-*

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critical juncture, both to act with Courage ourselves, and to exhort the rest to do the same."

AFTER him *Cheirisophus* said: "*Before this time,* O Xenophon! *I knew no more of you than that you were an* Athenian: *but now I commend both your Words and Actions, and wish we had many in the Army like you; for it would be a general good. And now, Gentlemen! let us lose no time: those of you, who want Commanders, depart immediately and chuse them; and when that is done, come into the middle of the Camp, and bring them with you: after that, we will call the rest of the Soldiers hither: and let* Tolmides *the Cryer, attend.*" Saying this, he rose up, that what was necessary, might be transacted without delay. After this *Timasion* a *Dardanian* was chosen General in the room of *Clearchus*, *Xanthicles* an *Achaian* in the room of *Socrates*, *Cleanor* an *Orchomenian* in the room of *Agias* an *Arcadian*, *Philysius* an *Achaian* in the room of *Menon*, and *Xenophon* an *Athenian* in that of *Proxenus*. ——

As soon as the Election was over, it being now near break of Day, the Officers

cers advanced to the middle of the Camp, and resolved first to appoint Out-guards, and then to call the Soldiers together. BOOK III.

When they were all assembled, *Cheirisophus*, the *Lacedæmonian* first got up, and spoke as follows: "*Soldiers! we are at present under great Difficulties, being deprived of such* Generals, *Captains, and Soldiers: Besides, the Forces of* Ariæus, *who were before our Auxiliaries, have betrayed us. However, we ought to emerge out of our present Circumstances, like brave Men, and not be cast down, but endeavour to redeem ourselves by a glorious* Victory. *If that is impossible, let us die with honour, and never fall alive under the power of the Enemy: for, in that case, we should suffer such things, as I hope the Gods keep in store for them.*"

AFTER him *Cleanor* of *Orchomenus* rose up and said, "*You see, O* Soldiers! *the Perjury and Impiety of the* King, *as well as the* Perfidy *of* Tissaphernes, *who amused us by saying that he lived in the Neighbourhood of* Greece, *and should, of all things, be most desirous to carry us in safety thither: It was He that gave us his* Oath *to perform this; He that pledged his Faith; He that be-*

tray-

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trayed us, and cauſed our Generals to be apprehended: And this he did in defiance even of "Jupiter *the Avenger of violated Hoſpitality; for, having entertained* Clearchus *at his Table, by theſe Arts he firſt deceived, and then deſtroyed our* Generals. Ariæus *alſo, whom we offered to place upon the Throne, with whom we were engaged by a mutual Exchange of Faith not to betray one another; this Man, I ſay, without either Fear of the Gods, or Reſpect for the Memory of* Cyrus, *though, of all others the moſt eſteemed by him when alive, now revolts to his greateſt* Enemies, *and endeavours to diſtreſs us, who were his* Friends. *But of theſe may the* Gods *take* Vengeance! *It behoves us, who have theſe things before our Eyes, not only to take care that theſe Men do not again betray us, but alſo to fight with all poſſible Bravery, and ſubmit to what the Gods ſhall determine."*——

THEN *Xenophon* roſe up, dreſſed for the War in the moſt gorgeous Armour he could provide, for he thought, if the Gods granted him Victory, theſe Ornaments would become a Conqueror, and if

" Διὰ ξένιον. See note ", page 11.

if he were to die, they would decorate his Fall. He began in the following manner: "*Cleanor has laid before you the Perjury and Treachery of the* Barbarians: *which, to be ſure, you yourſelves are no Strangers to. If therefore we have any Thoughts of trying their Friendſhip again, we muſt be under great Concern, when we conſider what our* Generals *have ſuffered, who by truſting to their Faith, put themſelves in their power. But, if we propoſe to take* Revenge *of them with our* Swords *for what they have done, and perſecute them for the future with* War *in every ſhape; we have, with the Aſſiſtance of the* Gods, *many fair Proſpects of Safety.*" While he was ſpeaking, one of the Company ſneezed, upon this the Soldiers all at once adored the God. Then *Xenophon* ſaid, "*Since, O* Soldiers! *while we were ſpeaking of Safety,* Jupiter *the Preſerver, ſent us an* [°] Omen, *I think we ought to make a*

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[°] Οιωνὸς τῦ Διὸς τῦ Σωτῆρος. Οιωνὸς is here taken for the *Omen* itſelf; in which Senſe we find it in that noble Sentiment of *Hector* to *Polydamas*.

Εις οἰωνὸς ἄριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης. Homer Il. *μ*.

This Superſtition of looking upon ſneezing as ominous, is very ancient, and to be met with in many *Greek* Authors; poſſibly it may have given riſe to the modern Cuſtom of ſaying *God bleſs you!* upon that occaſion. Anthol. 2 *B*. 12 *c*.

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a VOW *to offer* Sacrifice *to this* God, *in Thankſgiving for our Preſervation, in that Place where we firſt reach the Territories of our Friends; and alſo to the reſt of the Gods, in the beſt manner we are able. Whoever, then is of this Opinion, let him hold up his Hand.*" and they all held up their Hands; then made their Vows, and ſung the *Pæan*. After they had performed their Duty to the Gods, he went on thus:

"*I was ſaying that we had many fair Proſpects of Safety. In the firſt place we have obſerved the Oaths, to which we called the Gods to witneſs, while our Enemies have been guilty of Perjury, and have violated both their Oaths and the Peace. This being ſo, we have reaſon to expect the Gods will declare againſt them, and combat on our ſide; and They have it in their power, when they think fit, ſoon to humble the High, and, with eaſe, to exalt the Low, though in diſtreſs. Upon this occaſion, I ſhall put you in mind of the Dangers our Anceſtors were involved in, in order to convince you that it behoves you to be brave, and that thoſe who*

are

are ſo, are preſerved by the Gods amidſt the greateſt Calamities: [p] *for, when the* Perſians, *and their Allies, came with a vaſt Army to deſtroy* Athens, *the* Athenians, *by daring to oppoſe them, overcame them; and having made a Vow to* Diana *to ſacrifice as many Goats to her as they killed of the Enemy, when they could not find enough, they reſolved to ſacrifice five hundred every Year; and even to this Day they offer Sacrifice in Thankſgiving for that Victory.* [q] *Afterwards when* Xerxes *in-*

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[p] Ελθόντων μὲν γὰρ Περσῶν. This was the firſt Expedition of the *Perſians* againſt the *Greeks*, when under the Command of *Datis* and *Artaphernes*, they invaded their Country, and were defeated by *Miltiades* at the Battle of *Marathon*. This Invaſion ſeems to have been occaſioned by the twenty Ships which the *Athenians* ſent to *Miletus*, under the Command of *Melanthius*, at the Inſtigation of *Ariſtagoras*, to aſſiſt the *Ionians* againſt the *Perſians*; this, and their peremptory Refuſal to receive *Hippias*, their Tyrant, who had fled to *Perſia* for Refuge, provoked *Darius Hyſtaſpes* to ſend a powerful Fleet to invade *Athens*, the Succeſs of which has been mentioned. In this Defeat the *Perſians* loſt ſix thouſand four hundred Men, and the *Athenians* with their Allies, the *Platæans*, only one hundred and ninety-two: but on the *Perſian* ſide fell *Hippias*, and loſt that Life in the Field, which had been long due to the Sword of Juſtice. This Battle was fought on the ſixth Day of the *Attick* Month *Boëdromion*, (with us, *September*) the third Month from the Summer Solſtice, and the third Year of the ſeventy-ſecond Olympiad, *Phenippus* being Archon, and four Years before the Death of *Darius*.

Herodot. in Erato. Ib. in Erato. Plutarch in Camillus. Arundel Marble Ep. 62. Severus Sulpicius, 2 B. Holy Hiſtory. Thucyd. 1 B.

[q] Επειτα ὅτι Ξέρξης. This is the ſecond Expedition of the *Perſians* againſt the *Greeks*, in which *Xerxes* himſelf commanded: The Year in which this was undertaken,

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invaded Greece, *with an innumerable Army, then it was that our Anceſtors overcame the Anceſtors of theſe very Men, both by Sea and Land; of which the Trophies, that were erected upon that occaſion, are laſting Monuments ſtill to be ſeen. But of all Monuments the moſt conſiderable is the Liberty of thoſe Cities, in which you have received your Birth and Education: for you pay Adoration to no other Maſter but the Gods. From ſuch Anceſtors are you deſcended: neither can I ſay that you are a diſhonour to them, ſince, with-*

was the tenth from that, in which the Battle of *Marathon* was fought. *Xenophon* had reaſon to call this Army innumerable, ſince *Herodotus* makes it amount to about three Millions; which Number is expreſſed in the Epitaph that was inſcribed on the Monument erected at *Thermopylæ*, in honour of thoſe *Greeks* who died there in the Service of their Country. This Inſcription ſays, that in that Place four thouſand *Peloponneſians* engaged three Millions of the Enemy; the Words are theſe,

Herodot. *in* Polyhymnia.

Μυριάσι ποτὲ τῇδε τριηκοσίαις ἐμάχοντο
Ἐκ Πελοποννάσου χιλιάδες τέτορες.

This ſeems very authentick, though I am ſenſible that *Diodorus Siculus* has διηκοσίαις inſtead of τριηκοσίαις: However, an Army of two Millions of Men, will, I am afraid, ſcarce gain that general Credit, which poſſibly it may deſerve. The Victories here hinted at by *Xenophon*, which the *Athenians*, with their Allies, gained over the *Perſians*, by Sea and Land, were *Artemiſium* and *Salamine*, *Platæa* and *Mycale*, the two laſt being gained the ſame Day, that is, the third of the *Attick* Month *Boëdromion*, *September*, a Day, it ſeems, auſpicious to the Cauſe of Liberty, the firſt in *Bœotia*, and the laſt at *Mycale*, a Promontory of *Ionia*.

Diodorus Sicul. *a B.* Herodot. *in* Uriana. *Ib. in* Calliope. Plutarch *in* Camillus, *and of the Glory of the Athenians.* Herodot. *in* Calliop.

within these few Days, you [r] *engaged the Descendants of those Men, many times superior to you in number, and, with the Assistance of the Gods, defeated them. Then you fought to place* Cyrus *on the Throne, and in his Cause fought bravely: Now your own Safety is at stake, you ought certainly to shew more Courage and Alacrity. You have also reason now to entertain a greater Confidence in your own Strength than before; for though you were then unacquainted with the Enemy, and saw them before you in vast numbers, however you dared to attack them with the Spirit of your Ancestors: whereas now you have had Experience of them, and are sensible that, though they exceed you many times in number, they dare not stand before you, why should you any longer fear them? Neither ought you to look upon it as a Disadvantage, that the* Barbarians *belonging to* Cyrus, *who, before fought on your side, have now forsaken you; for they are yet worse Soldiers than those we have already over-*

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[r] Ἀντιταξάμενοι τούτοις τοῖς ἐκείνων ἔγγονοις—ἐνικᾶτε. This is ridiculously translated by *d'Ablancourt*, *vous avez vaincu les Descendans de Xerxes en Bataille rangée*. *Xerxes* must indeed have had a numerous Posterity, if the whole Army of *Artaxerxes* were his Descendants; but οἱ ἐκείνων ἔγγονοι visibly signifies the Descendants of those *Persians* who were defeated under *Xerxes*.

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overcome. They have left us therefore, and are fled to them: and it is our Advantage that thoſe who are the firſt to fly, ſhould be found in the Enemy's Army rather than in our own. If any of you are diſheartened becauſe we have no Horſe, in which the Enemy abound, let them conſider that ten thouſand Horſe are no more than ten thouſand Men; for no one was ever killed in an Action by the Bite or Kick of a Horſe. The Men do every thing that is done in Battle. But further, we are ſtcadi r upon the Ground than they on Horſeback; for they, hanging upon their Horſes are not only afraid of us, but alſo of falling; while we ſtanding firmly upon the Ground, ſtrike thoſe who approach us, with greater Force, and a ſurer Aim. The Horſe have but one Advantage over us, they can fly with greater Security. But if you are confident of your Strength in Battle, yet look upon it as a Grievance that Tiſſaphernes *will no longer conduct us, or the* King *ſupply us with a Market; conſider which is the moſt advantageous to have* Tiſſaphernes *for our Conductor, who, 'tis plain has betrayed us, or ſuch Guides as we ſhall make choice of, who will be ſenſible that, if they miſlead us, they muſt anſwer it with their*

their Lives. Conſider alſo whether it is better for us to purchaſe, in the Markets they provide, ſmall Meaſures for great Sums of Money, which we are no longer able to furniſh, or, if we conquer, to make uſe of no other Meaſure but our Will. If you are convinced that theſe things are beſt in the way they are in, but think the Rivers are not to be repaſſed, and that you have been greatly deluded in paſſing them, conſider with yourſelves, whether the Barbarians *have not taken very wrong Meaſures even in this; for all Rivers, though at a diſtance from their Springs, they may be impaſſable, yet if you go to their Sources, you will find them ſo eaſily fordable, as not even to wet your Knees. But, if the Rivers refuſe us Paſſage, and no Guide appears to conduct us, even in that caſe we ought not to be diſheartened; for we know that the* Myſians, *who are certainly not braver Men than ourſelves, inhabit many large and rich Cities in the King's Territories againſt his Will. The* Piſidians, *we alſo know, do the ſame. We have ourſelves ſeen the* Lycaonians, *who, after they had made themſelves Maſters of the ſtrong Places that command the Plains, enjoy the Product of the Country. And I ſhould think we ought*

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not

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not yet to betray a desire of returning home; but prepare every thing as if we proposed to settle here: for I am well assured that the King *would grant many* Guides *to the* Mysians, *and give them many Hostages, as a Security, to conduct them out of his Territories without fraud; he would even level the Roads for them, if they insisted upon being sent away in Chariots. And I am convinced he would, with great Alacrity, do the same for us, if he saw us disposed to stay here: But I am afraid, if once we learn to live in Idleness, and Plenty, and converse with the fair and stately Wives and Daughters of the* Medes *and* Persians, *we shall, like the* [s] Lo-

to-

[s] Ωσπερ οἱ λωτοφάγοι. This Tradition seems derived from *Homer*, who says that those who eat of the Lotus never think of returning home,

Homer Odyss. I.

Τῶν δ' ὅστις λωτοῖο φάγοι μελιηδέα καρπὸν,
Οὐκ ἔτ' ἀπαγγεῖλαι πάλιν ἤθελεν, οὐδὲ νέεσθαι.

Eustathius in his Explication of this Passage quotes many Authors, but, I think, none whose Account of the Lotus seems so satisfactory as that of *Herodotus*, who says that when the *Nile* overflows the Country, there grow in the Water great Quantities of Lilies, which the *Egyptians* call Lotus's; these, he says, they dry in the Sun, and of the Heads of them, which are like the Heads of Poppies, they make Bread; the Root of it, he says, is also eatable and sweet; he adds, that it is round, and about the Size of an Apple. But there is another kind of Lotus, described by *Theophrastus*, and, after him, by *Pliny*. This is a Tree *of the Size of a Pear-Tree, or something less*, ἐυμέγεθες, ἐλίκου ἄπιος, ἢ μικρὸν ἐλαττον, *magnitudo quæ Piro*, says *Pliny*;

Herodot. *in* Euterp.

Theoph. 4 *B. c.* 3. Pl. N. H. 13 *B. c* 32.

tophagi, *forget to return home. It ſeems therefore to me both juſt and reaſonable that* BOOK III. *we*

Pliny; the Leaves are jagged, like thoſe of the Ilex, φύλλον δὲ ἐντομὰς ἔχον, καὶ πρινώδες, thus tranſlated by *Pliny, inciſuræ folio crebriores, quæ Ilicis videntur. Theophraſtus*, and his Tranſlator *Pliny*, thus purſue the Deſcription; *the Wood is black,* τὸ μὲν ξύλον, μελαν, *ligno color niger. There are different Kinds of this Plant diſtinguiſhed by the difference of their Fruit,* γένη δὲ αὐτοῦ πλείω διαφορὰς ἔχοντα τοῖς καρποῖς, *differentiæ plures eæque maximæ fructibus fiunt. The Fruit is like a Bean, and changes its Colour, as it ripens, like Grapes: The Fruit of this Lotus grows oppoſite to one another, like Myrtle-Berries, and thick upon the Boughs;* ὁ δὲ καρπὸς ἡλίκος κύαμος· πεπάνεται δὲ, ὥσπερ οἱ βότρυες, μεταβάλλων τὰς χροιάς. φύεται δὲ καθαπερ τὰ μύρτα παραλληλα· πυκνος ἐστι τῶν βλαστῶν. *Magnitudo huic Fabæ, color ante maturitatem alius atque alius, ſicut in uvis; naſcitur denſus in ramis myrti modo: Theophraſtus* adds that *the Fruit is ſweet, pleaſant to the Taſte, and without any ill Quality; on the contrary, that it helps Digeſtion: The moſt delicious are thoſe that have no Stone, which one of the Kinds has not; he ſays the Inhabitants alſo make Wine of them,* γλυκύς· ἡδὺς· καὶ ἀσινής· καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τὴν κοιλίαν ἀγαθὸν· ἡδίων δὲ ὁ ἀπυρηνος· ἐστι γὰρ καὶ τοιοῦτον γένος. ποιοῦσι δὲ καὶ οἶνον ἐξ αὐτοῦ. *Tam dulci ibi Cibo, ut nomen etiam genti terræque dederit, nimis hoſpitali advenarum oblivione Patriæ. Ferunt ventris non ſentire morbum, qui eum mandavit. Melior ſine interiore Nucleo, qui in altero genere oſſeus videtur; vinum quoque exprimitur illi.* I have been ſo particular in tranſlating the Deſcription of this Plant, becauſe I have never yet met with an Account of it in any modern Writer, that agreed with this given by *Theophraſtus*; and, what is more extraordinary, Monſieur *Maillet*, who was many Years Conſul at *Cairo*, ſays he never ſaw any Plant in that Country, that had any Reſemblance to the Lotus of the Ancients: I have read the Deſcription of the Lotus given by the polite and learned Author of the *Spectacle de la Nature*, which agrees, no doubt, very well with the *Nymbo* of the *Eaſt-Indies*, but, I believe, he will own, that it does not, in all reſpects, anſwer this Deſcription of *Theophraſtus*. But there ſeems to be a third kind of Lotus, upon which Maillet. *tom. I. p.*

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we first endeavour to return to Greece, *and to our Families, and let our Countrymen see that they live in voluntary Poverty, since it is in their power to bring their Poor hither, and enrich them; for all these Advantages, Gentlemen! are the Rewards of* Victory. *The next thing, I shall mention to you, is in what manner we may march with the greatest Security, and, if necessary, fight with the greatest Advantage. In the first place, continued he, I think we ought to burn all the Carriages, that the Care of them may not influence our march, but that we may be directed in it by the Advantage of the Army. After that, we ought to burn our Tents also; for they are troublesome to carry, and of no use either in fighting, or in supplying ourselves with Provisions. Let us also rid ourselves of all superfluous Baggage, and reserve only those*

the Horses belonging to the Companions of *Achilles* fed during his Inaction,

Homer Il. B.

——— Ιπποι δὲ παρ' ἅρμασιν οἶσιν ἑκαστοι
Λωτὸν ἐρεπτόμενοι, ἰλεύθερεπτον τε σέλινον
Εσασαν.

This is thought to be a kind of Trefoil, and this, I imagine, was the Lotus that, together with Saffron and Hyacinths, formed the Couch of *Jupiter* and *Juno* upon a very amiable Occasion,

Il. Ξ.

Τοῖσι δ' ὑπὸ χθὼν Δῖα φύεν νεοθηλέα ποίην,
Λωτόν θ' ἑρσήεντα, ἰὸν κρόκον, ἠδ' ὑάκινθον
Πυκνὸν καὶ μαλακὸν.

those things, that are of use in War, or for our Meat and Drink; to the end as many of us, as possible, may march in their Ranks, and as few be employed in carrying the Baggage; for the Conquered, you know, have nothing they can call their own; and, if we conquer, we ought to look upon the Enemy as Servants to be employed in carrying our Baggage. It now remains that I speak to that which is, in my opinion, of the greatest Consequence. You see that even the Enemy did not dare to declare War against us, 'till they had seized our Generals, for they were sensible, that, while we had Commanders, and yielded Obedience *to them, we were able to conquer them: but, having seized our Commanders, they concluded that we should from a want of Command and Discipline, be destroyed. It is necessary therefore that our present Generals should be more careful than the former, and the Soldiers more observant, and more obedient to Them than to their Predecessors; and, if you make an Order, that whoever of you happens to be present, shall assist the Commander in chastising those who are guilty of Disobedience, it will be the most effectual means to frustrate the Designs of the Enemy; for, from this Day, instead of one* Clearchus,

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they will find [1] *a thouſand, who will ſuffer no Man to neglect his Duty. But it is now Time to make an End, for it is probable the Enemy will preſently appear; and, if you approve of any thing I have ſaid, ratify it immediately, that you may put it in Execution. But, if any other Perſon thinks of any thing more proper, though a private Man, let him propoſe it; for our Preſervation is a general Concern.*" ——

AFTER that, *Cheiriſophus* ſaid, "*If it is neceſſary to add any thing to what* Xenophon *has laid before us, it may be done by and by: At preſent I think we ought to ratify what he has propoſed, and whoever is of that opinion, let him hold up his Hand:*" and they all held up their Hands. Then *Xenophon*, riſing up again, ſaid, "*Hear then, O Soldiers! what, in my opinion, we are to expect. It is evident that we muſt go to ſome place where we may get Proviſions. I am informed there are many fair Villages not*

[1] Μυρίους ἄψονται. Μυρία πολλὰ, καὶ ἀναρίθμητα· μύρια δὲ, ὁ ἀριθμός. *Suidas. Sexcenti* is uſed in the ſame manner in *Latin*, to ſignify an indefinite Number; I have tranſlated μυρίους a thouſand, becauſe I think our Language makes uſe of this Number in that Senſe: In *French cent* has the ſame effect, for which reaſon I was ſurprized *d'Ablancourt* did not ſay *ils en verront rendre cent*, rather than *dix mille*.

not above twenty Stadia from hence: I should not therefore be surprized if the Enemy, like cowardly Dogs that follow, and, if they can, bite those who pass by, but fly from those who pursue them, should also follow us when we begin to move. Possibly therefore we shall march with greater Safety, if we dispose the heavy-armed Men in an hollow Square, to the end the Baggage, and the great number of those who belong to it, may be in greater Security. If then we now appoint the proper Persons to command the Front, each of the Flanks, and the Rear, we shall not have to consider of this, when the Enemy appears; but shall presently be ready to execute what we have resolved. If any other Person has any thing better to propose, let it be otherwise: If not, let Cheirisophus *command the Front,* [u] *since he is a* Lacedæmonian; *let two of the oldest Generals command the Flanks; and* Timasion *and myself, who are the youngest, will, for the present, take charge of the Rear. Afterwards, when we have had Experience of this Disposition, we may consider what is best to be done, as occasion offers. If any one thinks of any thing better, let*

[u] Ἐπειδὴ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιός ἐστι. The reason why *Xenophon* does this Honour to the *Lacedæmonians*, will appear in the Introduction.

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let him mention it." But no body oppoſing what he offered, he ſaid, "*Let thoſe who are of this Opinion, hold up their Hands:*" ſo this was reſolved. "*Now*, ſays he, *you are to depart, and execute what is determined: And whoever among you deſires to return to his Family, let him remember to fight bravely, (for this is the only means to effect it:) Whoever has a mind to live, let him endeavour to conquer; for the part of the Conqueror is to inflict Death, that of the Conquered to receive it. And if any among you covet Riches, let him endeavour to overcome: for the Victorious not only preſerve their own Poſſeſſions, but acquire thoſe of the Enemy.*"

AFTER he had ſaid this, they all roſe up, and departing, burnt their Carriages, and Tents; as for the ſuperfluous part of their Baggage, they gave that to one another where it was wanted, and caſt the reſt into the Fire, and then went to Dinner. While they were at Dinner, *Mithridates* advanced with about thirty Horſe, and, deſiring the Generals might come within hearing, he ſaid, "*O Greeks! I was faithful to* Cyrus, *as you yourſelves know,*

know, and now wiſh well to you; and do aſſure you that while I remain here, I am under great Apprehenſions. So that if I ſaw you taking ſalutary Reſolutions, I would come over to you and bring all my People with me. Inform me therefore of what you reſolve, for I am your Friend and Wellwiſher, and deſire to join you in [x] *your march.*" After the Generals had conſulted together, they thought proper to return this Anſwer, *Cheiriſophus* ſpeaking in the Name of the reſt. "*We reſolve, ſays he, if we are ſuffered to return home, to march through the Country with as little damage to it as poſſible; but, if any one oppoſes our march, to fight our way through in the beſt manner we are able.*" *Mithridates* upon this endeavoured to ſhew how impoſſible it was for them to return in ſafety, without the King's Conſent. This rendered him ſuſpected, beſides, one belonging to *Tiſſaphernes* was in his Company, as a Spy upon him. From this time forward the Generals determined, that they would admit of no further Treaty while they continued in the Enemy's Country: for, by coming in this manner, they not only debauched the

[x] Τὸν σύλον. See note [n], page 15.

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the Soldiers, but *Nicharchus*, an *Arcadian*, one of the Captains, who deserted to them that Night, with about twenty Men.

As ſoon as the Soldiers had dined, the Army paſſed the River *Zabatus*, and marched in Order of Battle, with the Baggage, and thoſe who attended it, in the middle: They had not gone far, before *Mithridates*, appeared again with about two hundred Horſe, and four hundred Archers and Slingers very light, and fit for Expedition. He advanced as a Friend; but, when he came near, immediately both the Horſe and Foot diſcharged their Arrows; the Slingers alſo made uſe of their Slings, and wounded ſome of our Men, ſo that the Rear of the *Greeks* received great Damage, without being able to return it: For the Bows of the *Cretans* did not carry ſo far as thoſe of the *Perſians*: The former alſo, being lightly armed, had ſheltered themſelves in the middle of the heavy-armed Men, neither could our Darters reach their Slingers. *Xenophon* ſeeing this, reſolved to purſue the Enemy, and the heavy-armed Men and Targeteers, who were

were with him in the Rear, followed the Purſuit. But they could come up with none of them; for the *Greeks* had no Horſe, and their Foot could not in ſo ſhort a Space overtake thoſe of the Enemy, who had ſo much the Start of them. Neither durſt they in the Purſuit ſeparate themſelves too far from the reſt of the Army; for the *Barbarian* Horſe wounded them even as they fled, ſhooting backward from their Horſes: And, as far as the *Greeks* were advanced in the Purſuit, ſo far were they obliged to retreat fighting. Inſomuch that they could not march above five and twenty Stadia all that Day; however, in the Evening, they arrived in the Villages. Here the Troops were again diſheartened; and *Cheiriſophus* with the oldeſt Generals blamed *Xenophon* for leaving the main Body to purſue the Enemy, and expoſing himſelf without any poſſibility of hurting them. BOOK III.

XENOPHON hearing this, ſaid they had reaſon to blame him, and that they were juſtified by the Event. "But, ſays he, I was under a Neceſſity of purſuing

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ſuing the Enemy, ſince I ſaw our Men ſuffer great Damage by ſtanding ſtill, without being able to return it: but when we were engaged in the Purſuit, continued he, we found what you ſay to be true: For we were not more able to annoy the Enemy than before, and retreated with great Difficulty. We have reaſon therefore to thank the Gods that they came upon us only with a ſmall Force and a few Troops, ſo that, inſtead of doing us great Damage, they have taught us our Wants. For now the Enemy's Archers and Slingers wound our Men at a greater diſtance, than either the *Cretans*, or the Darters can reach them; and when we purſue them, we muſt not ſeparate ourſelves far from the main Body; and in a ſhort Space our Foot, though ever ſo ſwift, cannot come up with theirs, ſo as to reach them with their Arrows. If we mean therefore to hinder them from diſturbing us in our March, we muſt immediately provide ourſelves with Slingers and Horſe. I hear there are *Rhodians* in our Army, the greateſt part of whom, they ſay, underſtand the Uſe of the Sling; and that their

their Slings carry twice as far as thoſe of the *Perſians*, who throwing [y] large Stones, cannot offend their Enemy at a great Diſtance: whereas the *Rhodians*, beſides Stones, make uſe of leaden Balls. If therefore we enquire who have Slings, and pay them for them; and alſo give Money to thoſe who are willing to make others, granting at the ſame time ſome other Immunity to thoſe, who voluntarily liſt among the Slingers, poſſibly ſome will offer themſelves, who may be fit for that Service. I ſee alſo Horſes in the Army, ſome belonging to me, and ſome left by *Clearchus*; beſides many others that we have taken from the Enemy, which are employed in carrying the Baggage. If therefore we chuſe out all the beſt of theſe, and accoutre them for the Horſe, giving to the Owners [z] ſumpter Horſes in Exchange, poſſibly theſe alſo may annoy the Enemy in their Flight." Theſe things were reſolved upon: and the ſame Night two hundred Slingers liſted themſelves. The next Day proper Horſes BOOK III.

[y] Χειροπλήθεσι τοῖς λίθοις. Literally Stones ſo large, that every one of them is a handful.

[z] Σκευοφόρα. See note [c], page 33.

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Horſes and Horſemen were appointed to the number of fifty, and [a] buff Coats and Corſlets were provided for them; and the Command of them was given to *Lycius* the Son of *Polyſtratus*, an *Athenian*.

THAT Day the Army ſtaid in the ſame Place: and the next they began their March earlier than uſual; for they had a [b] Valley formed by a Torrent to paſs, and were afraid the Enemy ſhould attack them in their Paſſage. As ſoon as they had paſſed it, *Mithridates* appeared again with a thouſand Horſe and four thouſand Archers and Slingers; for ſo many *Tiſſaphernes* had granted him, at his Deſire, and upon his undertaking, with that Number to deliver the *Greeks* into

[a] Στολάδες. *Hutchinſon* inclines to read σπολάδες, which has the Senſe I have here given to στολάδες, though *Suidas* acknowledges στολάδες in the Senſe our Author takes it.

[b] Χαράδραν. In this Senſe χαράδρα is taken by *Homer* in that ſublime Deſcription of an Inundation, in which the Biſhop of *Theſſalonica* thinks he had the univerſal Deluge in his Eye.

Homer Il. π.

Τῶν δέ τε πάντες μὲν ποταμοὶ ἁλαδε νίσσονται,
Πολλαὶ, δὲ κλιτὺς τυτ' ἀποτρηγῶσι χαράδραι,

Where χαράδραι is thus explained by the Greek Scholiaſt, Οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν χειμαρρίων ἐκπιπτόμενοι αὐλῶνες διὰ τὸ χαράσσειν, ἤγουν τρέχειν τὸ ὕδωρ· οἱ κοῖλοι τόποι ὑφ' ὧν χειμάρρους ῥεῖ, ſo that χαράδρα is a Valley formed by a Torrent.

into his Power: for having, in the laſt Action, with a ſmall Force, done them (as he imagined) great Damage, without receiving any, he had a Contempt for them. When the *Greeks* were advanced about eight Stadia beyond the Valley, *Mithridates* alſo paſſed it with the Forces under his Command. The *Greek* Generals had given Orders to a certain Number both of the Targeteers and heavy-armed Men to follow the Chace, and alſo to the Horſe to purſue them boldly, with Aſſurance that a ſufficient Force ſhould follow to ſuſtain them. When therefore *Mithridates* overtook them, and was now within Reach of their Slings and Arrows, the Trumpet ſounded, and thoſe of the *Greeks*, who had Orders, immediately attacked the Enemy, the Horſe charging at the ſame time. However, the *Perſians* did not ſtand to receive them, but fled to the Valley. In this Purſuit, the *Barbarians* loſt many of their Foot, and about eighteen of their Horſe were taken Priſoners in the Valley. The *Greeks*, of their own accord, mangled the Bodies of thoſe that were ſlain, to create the greater Horror in the Enemy. BOOK III.

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AFTER this Defeat, the *Perſians* retired, and the *Greeks*, marching the reſt of the Day without Diſturbance, came to the River *Tigris*, where ſtood a large uninhabited City, called [c] *Lariſſa*, anciently inhabited by the *Medes*, the Walls of which were twenty-five Feet in Breadth, one hundred in Height, and two Paraſangas in Circuit; all built with Bricks, except the *Plinth* which was of Stone, and twenty Feet high. This City, when beſieged by the King of *Perſia*, at the Time the *Perſians* were wreſting the Empire from the *Medes*, he could not make himſelf Maſter of it by any means; when it

[c] Λάρισσα. It is very judiciouſly remarked by the great *Bochart*, that it is improbable there ſhould be any ſuch Name of a Town in this Part of the World as *Lariſſa*, becauſe it is a *Greek* Name; and though there were ſeveral Cities ſo called, they were all *Greek*: And as no *Greeks* ſettled in theſe Parts, 'till the Time of *Alexander*'s Conqueſts, which did not happen 'till many Years after *Xenophon*'s Death, ſo he concludes they could meet with no ſuch Name ſo far from *Greece* as beyond the River *Tigris*. He therefore conjectures, that this City is the *Reſen*, mentioned by *Moſes*, Gen. x. 12. where he ſays, Aſhur *built* Reſen *between* Nineveh *and* Calah: *the ſame is a great City*. This agrees exactly with what *Xenophon* ſays of it; who calls it πόλις μεγάλη, and affirms the Walls of it to be in Circumference two Paraſangas. *Bochart* therefore ſuppoſes, that when the *Greeks* aſked the People of the Country, *what City are theſe the Ruins of?* They anſwered לרסי *Lareſen*, that is, *of Reſen*. It is eaſy to imagine how this Word might be ſoftened by a *Greek* Termination, and made *Lariſſa*.

Thaleg. B. 4. c. 23.

it happened that [d] the Sun, obſcured by a Cloud, diſappeared, and the Darkneſs continued 'till, the Inhabitants being ſeized with Conſternation, the Town was taken. Cloſe to the City ſtood a [e] Pyramid BOOK III.

[d] Ἡλιον δὲ ιεφέλη προκαλύψασα, &c. This Paſſage, I find, admits of different Readings, however, I prefer that of *Hutchinſon*, which is ſupported by *Stephens* and *Muretus*, but differ both from him and *Leunclavius*, and alſo from *d'Ablancourt*, in tranſlating it. They all make ἤφανισε to relate to the Town, which, I think, is neither ſo agreeable to the Senſe, nor to the Genius of the *Greek* Language; ſince ἥλιον being the accuſative Caſe, governed by προκαλύψασα, I think ἠφάνισε ought to relate to the ſame; which every body knows is very common in *Greek*, and not to another thing, which has not been mentioned in this Sentence.

[e] Πυραμὶς λιθίνη, τὸ μὲν εὖρος ἑκάστης πλέθρου, τὸ δὲ ὕψος δύο πλέθρων. Theſe are very extraordinary Dimenſions for a Pyramid, and very different from thoſe of the *Egyptian* Pyramids: ſo that we find the *Egyptian* and *Aſiatick* Taſte diſagreed very much in this Reſpect. For, though there is ſome Diverſity in the Accounts given by the ancient Authors, of the Dimenſions of the *Egyptian* Pyramids, yet they all make them very different in their Proportions from this deſcribed by *Xenophon*. *Herodotus* makes the great Pyramid at *Memphis* 800 *Greek* Feet Square, and as many in Height, τὸς ἑκατὸν πάντα μέτωπον ἕκαστον ὀκτὼ πλέθρα, ἐοῦσης τετραγώνης, καὶ ὕψος ἴσον. If the Reader pleaſes to turn to note [c], page 15, of the firſt Book, he will find that the *Greek* Foot exceeded ours by ,0875 Decimals of an Inch *Diodorus Siculus* ſays the great Pyramid was four-ſquare, and that each Side of the Baſe was 700 Feet, and the Height above 600. μεγίστη, τετράπλευρος ἴσα τῷ σχήματι, ἧς ἑκάστης τῶν βάσεων πλευρὰν ἑκατὸν ἔχει πλέθρων ἑπτά, τὸ δ' ὕψος ἔχει πλέθρων τῶν ἑξ πλέθρων. There is another Account given of its Dimenſions by a modern Author, *Thevenot*, who ſays the great Pyramid is 520 Feet high, and 652 ſquare. Of theſe three

Herodot. *in* Euterp.

Diod. Sic. 1 *B.*

Theven. 2 *B. c.* 5.

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mid of Stone one hundred Feet ſquare, and two hundred high, in which a great number of *Barbarians*, who fled from the neighbouring Villages, had conveyed themſelves.

THENCE they made, in one day's march, ſix Paraſangas, to a large uninhabited Caſtle, ſtanding near a Town, called *Meſpila*, formerly inhabited alſo by the *Medes*. The *Plinth* of the Wall was built with poliſhed Stone full of Shells, being fifty Feet in Breadth, and as many in Height. Upon this ſtood a brick Wall fifty Feet alſo in Breadth, one hundred in Height; and ſix Paraſangas in Circuit.

three Accounts that of *Diodorus Siculus* ſeems to give the moſt rational Proportion of a Pyramid, which, if ſuppoſed to be an equilateral Triangle, and the Baſe to contain 700 Feet, as he ſays, will, in that Caſe, have 606 Feet, and a Fraction of 2177 for its perpendicular Height: for if an equilateral Pyramid, of which the Baſe contains 700 Feet, be divided into two equal Parts by a Perpendicular let down from the Top, it will make two right-angled Triangles, of which the Hypothenuſe will contain 700 Feet, the Square of which will conſequently be equal to the Square of the two other Sides: If therefore from 490000 the Square of 700, you deduct 122500 the Square of 350, of which the Baſe conſiſts, there will remain 367500 for the Square of the Perpendicular, the ſquare Root of which will be 606, with a Fraction of 2177; ſo that the perpendicular Height of an equilateral Pyramid, the Baſe of which is 700 Feet, will be 606 Feet with that Fraction.

Euclid. 1 *B.* 47 *Prop.*

cuit. Here *Media* the King's Conſort, is ſaid to have taken Refuge, when the *Medes* were deprived of the Empire by the *Perſians*. When the *Perſian* King beſieged this City, he could not make himſelf Maſter of it either by Length of Time or Force, but *Jupiter* [f] having ſtruck the Inhabitants with a panick Fear, it was taken. BOOK III.

FROM this place they made, in one day's march, four Paraſangas. During their March *Tiſſaphernes* appeared with his own Horſe, and the Forces of *Orontas*, who had married the King's Daughter, together with thoſe *Barbarians*, who had ſerved under *Cyrus* in his Expedition; to theſe was added the Army which the King's Brother had brought to his Aſſiſtance, and the Troops the King had given him. All theſe together made a vaſt Army. When he approached, he placed ſome of his Forces againſt our Rear, and others againſt each of our Flanks, but durſt not attack us, being unwilling to hazard a Battle: however, he ordered his Men

[f] Ἐμβροντήτους. Ἐμβρόντητος· καρδιοπλήκτῳ· μανίᾳ ἢ φρενῶν. *Suidas.*

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Men to uſe their Slings and Bows. But, when the *Rhodians*, who were diſpoſed in Platoons, began to make Uſe of their Slings, and the *Cretan* Bowmen, in Imitation of the *Scythians*, diſcharged their Arrows, none of them miſſing the Enemy, (which they could not eaſily have done, though they had endeavoured it) both *Tiſſaphernes* himſelf quickly got out of their Reach, and the other Diviſions retired. The remaining part of the Day the *Greeks* continued their March, and the others followed, without haraſſing them any more with Skirmiſhes; for the Slings of the *Rhodians* not only carried further than thoſe of the *Perſians*, but even than moſt of the Archers could throw their Arrows. The *Perſian* Bows are long, ſo that their Arrows, when gathered up, were of ſervice to the *Cretans*, who continued to make uſe of them, and accuſtomed themſelves to take a great Elevation, in order to ſhoot them to a greater diſtance. Beſides, there were found a conſiderable Quantity of Bow-ſtrings in the Villages, and ſome Lead, both which were employed for the Slings.

THIS Day, after the *Greeks* were encamped in the Villages, the *Barbarians*, having ſuffered in the Skirmiſh, retired: the next the *Greeks* ſtaid where they were, and made their Proviſions: for there was Plenty of Corn in the Villages. The Day after they marched over the open Country, and *Tiſſaphernes* followed, haraſſing them at a Diſtance. Upon this occaſion the *Greeks* obſerved that an equilateral Square was not a proper Diſpoſition for an Army, when purſued by the Enemy; for, whenever the Square has a narrow Road, a Defile between Hills, or a Bridge to paſs, the Wings muſt cloſe, and conſequently the heavy-armed Men be forced out of their Ranks, and march uneaſily, being both preſſed together and diſordered; ſo that of neceſſity they become uſeleſs for want of Order. On the other Side, when the Wings come to be again extended, the Men who before were forced out of their Ranks, muſt divide, and conſequently leave an Opening in the Center; which very much diſheartens thoſe who are thus expoſed, when the Enemy is at their Heels. Beſides, when they have a Bridge, or any other Defile

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to paſs, every Man is in a Hurry, wanting to be firſt. Upon which occaſion the Enemy has a fair Opportunity of attacking them. After the Generals had diſcovered this, they formed ſix Companies of one hundred Men each, whom they ſubdivided into others of fifty, and theſe again into others of twenty-five, and appointed Officers to all of them. The Captains of theſe Companies upon a March, when the Wings cloſed, ſtaid behind, ſo as not to diſorder the Rear; they at that Time marching clear of the Wings. And when the Sides of the Square came to be again extended, [g] they then

[g] Τὸ μέσον ἀνεξεπίμπλασαν, εἰ μὲν στενότερον εἴη τὸ διέχον, κατὰ τὰς λόχους· εἰ δὲ πλατύτερον, κατὰ πεντηκοστῦς, εἰ δὲ πάνυ πλατυ, κατ' ἐνωμοτίας· ὥστε ἀεὶ ἔκπλεων εἶναι τὸ μέσον.

Here a great Difficulty preſents itſelf, which the Tranſlators have either not ſeen, or if they have ſeen it, they have not thought fit to take Notice of it. But let us follow *Xenophon* in ſtating the Inconveniences to which the equilateral Square was ſubject, with the Remedies propoſed by the Generals to cure them. The Inconveniences, it ſeems, were two, the firſt that in paſſing through Defiles, the Wings cloſed, which put the Men in Diſorder. The ſecond, that, after they had paſſed the Defiles, and the Wings were again extended, the Men were forced to run to the Wings, in order to recover their Ranks, by which means there was a Void in the middle. In order therefore to remedy theſe Inconveniences, the Generals formed ſix Companies or Bodies of one hundred Men each, which they ſubdivided into others of fifty, and theſe again into others of twenty five, and

then filled up the Center, if the Opening was narrow, with the Companies of one hun- BOOK III.

and appointed Officers to each of these Bodies. The Captains of these Companies, when the Wings closed, marched clear of them, so as not to put them into any Disorder; by this Means the first Inconvenience was cured, but how was the second to be remedied? If you believe the Text, as it now stands, by filling up the Void, if it was narrow, with the Companies of one hundred Men each, if larger, with those of fifty, and if very large, with those of twenty-five; so that the narrower the Interval, the greater was the number of Men to be made use of in filling it up, and the larger, the fewer were to be employed for that Purpose. But this is obviously contrary to common Sense: If therefore the Text be so far altered, as to transpose κατὰ τὰς λόχους, and κατ' ενωμοτίας, every Thing will be natural. This Correction however I have not followed in the Translation, because it is very possible to explain the Text as it now stands, and if so, no Alteration ought to be made in it. It is possible, I say, very possible, that the Meaning of *Xenophon* may be this Let it be supposed that the Square has passed some Defile, and that the Men running to each of the Wings in order to recover thei Ranks, there remains a Void in the Center; in that Case, I say, possibly the Captains of these six Companies, marching in the Rear, filled up the Void, if it was narrow with their six Companies of one hundred Men each, drawn up, for example twenty-five in Front, and twenty-four in Depth; if the Void was larger, with those of fifty Men each drawn up fifty in Front, and twelve in Depth; and if very large, with the Companies of twenty-five Men each, drawn up one hundred in Front, and six in Depth; and by this means, as our Author says, the Center was always full. This Passage seems very well to have deserved the Attention of the Translators, for, if I am not mistaken, this is a very fine Disposition, and very well calculated to cure the two Inconveniences to which a Square was subject, when an Enemy followed. But the Merit of this, and of all other Dispositions practised by our Author in this memorable Retreat, must be submitted to the military Men, who alone are the proper Judges in these

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hundred Men each; if larger, with thoſe of fifty; and if very large, with thoſe of five and twenty; ſo that the Center was always full. If therefore the Army were to paſs any Defile or Bridge, there was no Confuſion, the Captains of theſe ſeveral Companies bringing up the Rear; and, if a Detachment were wanted upon any Occaſion, theſe were always at hand. In this Diſpoſition they made four Marches.

WHILE they were upon their March the fifth Day, they ſaw a Palace and many Villages lying round it. The Road, which led to this Place lay over high Hills, that reached down from the Mountain, under which there ſtood a Village. The *Greeks* were rejoiced to ſee theſe

Caſes. As to the Signification of πεντηκοστὺς, and ἐνωμοτία, they were both military Terms among the *Lacedæmonians*, the firſt explains itſelf, and the ſecond is thus explained by *Suidas*. Ἐνωμοτία. τάξις τις στρατιωτικὴ ἀνδρῶν ἑ ἡ ἑ, παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις, εἴρηται, δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ὀμνύναι ἀυτὺς μὴ λείψειν τὴν τάξιν, a Body of Soldiers among the *Lacedæmonians*, conſiſting of twenty-five Men. It muſt be obſerved, that in the firſt Book, where *Xenophon* mentions two of *Menon's* λόχοι or Companies to have been cut off, he ſays they amounted to one hundred Men, whereas theſe Companies conſiſted of one hundred Men each; but theſe ſeem to have been formed for this particular Purpoſe.

theſe Hills, and with great Reaſon, the Enemy's Forces conſiſting in Horſe. But after they had left the Plain, and aſcended the firſt Hill, while they were deſcending thence in order to climb the next, the *Barbarians* appeared, and from the Eminence ſhowered down upon them, under [h] the Scourge, Darts, Stones, and Arrows. They wounded many, and had the Advantage over the *Greek* light-armed Men, forcing them to retire within the Body of the heavy-armed; ſo that the Slingers and Archers were that day entirely uſeleſs, being mixed with thoſe who had Charge of the Baggage. And when the *Greeks*, being thus preſſed, endeavoured to purſue the Enemy, as they were heavy-armed Men, they moved ſlowly to the Top of the Mountain, while the Enemy retreated: And when the *Greeks* retired to their [i] main Body, the ſame thing

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[h] Ὑπὸ μαστίγων. It was Part of the *Perſian* Diſcipline to make their Soldiers do their Duty, as *Xenophon* ſays, ὑπὸ μαστίγων, *under the Scourge*. So *Xerxes*, after he had landed in *Europe*, ſaw his Army paſſing the *Helleſpont* under the Scourge, ἐθηεῖτο τὸν στρατὸν ὑπὸ μαστίγων διαβαίνοντα; *D'Ablancourt* has left it quite out, chuſing rather to leave his Readers uninformed of this Cuſtom, than to clog his Tranſlation with ſo uncommon a Circumſtance. Herodot. in Polyhymnia.

[i] Πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στρατευμα. *Scil. Barbarorum*, ſays *Hutchinſon* in his Notes; *Leunclavius* has alſo tranſlated it in the

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thing happened to them again. They found the ſame Difficulty in paſſing the ſecond Hill; ſo that they determined not to order out the heavy-armed Men from the third Hill; but, inſtead of that, brought up the Targeteers to the Top of the Mountain from the Right of the Square. When theſe were got above the Enemy, they no longer moleſted our Men in their Deſcent, fearing to be cut off from their own Body, and that we ſhould attack them on both Sides. In this Manner we marched the reſt of the Day, ſome in the Road upon the Hills, and others abreaſt of them upon the Mountain, 'till they came to the Villages; when they appointed eight [k] *Surgeons*, for there were many wounded.

HERE

the ſame Senſe: I am ſorry to find myſelf obliged to differ from them both; but I think it plain that τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα here ſignifies the main Body of the *Greeks*, from which theſe heavy-armed Men were detached to drive the Enemy from the Eminence, which after they had effected, the Enemy attacked them in their Retreat to their main Body. Our Author uſed the ſame Expreſſion in the ſame Senſe ſome pages before, πολὺ γὰρ ἂν οἴοντο ἧττον ἀπὸ τῆ ἄλλη στρατεύματος διώκειν where all the Tranſlators have tranſlated τὸ ἄλλο στρατευμα, in the ſame manner I have rendered it here: Beſides, the word ἀπίοιεν ſhews clearly that the Thing here ſpoken of is their Return.

[k] Ἰατροὺς. I have ſaid *Surgeons* inſtead of *Phyſicians*, becauſe both Profeſſions being anciently exerciſed by the ſame

HERE they ſtaid three Days, both on account of the wounded, and becauſe they found plenty of Proviſions, as Wheat-Meal, Wine, and a great quantity of Barley for Horſes; all which was laid up for the Satrape of the Country. The fourth Day they deſcended into the Plain; where, when *Tiſſaphernes* had overtaken them with the Army under his Command, he taught them how neceſſary it was to encamp in the firſt Village they came to, and to march no longer fighting; for ſome being wounded, ſome employed in carrying thoſe who were ſo, and others in carrying the Arms of the latter, great numbers were not in a Condition to fight. But, when they were encamped, and the *Barbarians*, coming up to the Village, offered to ſkirmiſh, the *Greeks* had greatly the Advantage of them; for they found a great difference between ſallying from their Camp to repulſe the Enemy, and being obliged to march

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ſame Perſons, they were chiefly employed as Surgeons upon this Occaſion. There are two Verſes in *Homer*, upon *Machaon's* being wounded by *Paris*, which ſhew both the great Regard that was paid to the Profeſſion, and that Surgery, as I ſaid, was a Branch of it.

Ιητρὸς γὰρ ἀνὴρ πολλῶν ἀντάξιος ἄλλων,
Ἰὸς τ' ἰκτάμενον, ἐπί τ' ἤπια φάρμακα πάσσειν. Homer Il. Λ.

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march fighting, whenever they were attacked. When the Evening approached, it was Time for the *Barbarians* to retire; becauſe they never encamped at a leſs diſtance from the *Greeks*, than ſixty Stadia, for Fear theſe ſhould fall upon them in the Night. A *Perſian* Army being then ſubject to great Inconveniences; for their Horſes are tied, and generally ſhackled, to prevent them from running away; and, if an Alarm happens, a *Perſian* has the [1] *Houſing* to fix, his Horſe to bridle, and his Corſlet to put on, before he can mount. All theſe Things cannot be done in the Night without great Difficulty, particularly, if there is an Alarm. For this Reaſon they always encamped at a Diſtance from the *Greeks*. When theſe perceived they deſigned to retire, and that the Word was given, they,

[1] Επισάξαι τὸν ἵππον. I was ſurprized to find this tranſlated by *d'Ablancourt*, *ſelle ſon Cheval*, which I had rather attributed to his Inadvertence, than to his Ignorance, ſince he could not but know that the Ancients, inſtead of Saddles, uſed a kind of *Houſing*, or Horſe-cloth, which the *Greeks* called σάγη, and the *Latins Sagum*. This *Houſing* is to be ſeen upon the Horſes repreſented on *Trajan*'s Pillar, and in many other Monuments of Antiquity. The *Romans* called theſe *Houſings* alſo *ſtrata*, the Invention of which, together with that of Bridles, *Pliny* aſcribes to *Pelethronius*, *frænos & ſtrata Equorum Pelethronium*.

Jul. Pol. 10 *B. c.* 12.

Pl. N. H. 7 *B. c.* 57.

they, in the Enemy's hearing, received Orders to make ready to march; whereupon, the *Barbarians* made a Halt; but, when it grew late, they departed; for they did not hold it expedient to march, and arrive at their Camp, in the Night.

WHEN the *Greeks* plainly saw they were retired, *they* alſo decamped, and marching away, advanced about ſixty Stadia. The two Armies were now at ſo great a Diſtance from one another, that the Enemy did not appear, either the next Day, or the Day after. But on the fourth, the *Barbarians*, having got before the *Greeks* in the Night, poſſeſſed themſelves of an Eminence that commanded the Road, through which the *Greeks* were to paſs. It was the Brow of a Hill, under which lay the Deſcent into the Plain. As ſoon as *Cheiriſophus* ſaw this Eminence poſſeſſed by the Enemy, he ſent for *Xenophon* from the Rear, and deſired him to bring up the Targeteers to the Front. *Xenophon* did not take theſe with him, (for he ſaw *Tiſſaphernes* advancing with his whole Army) but, riding up to him himſelf, ſaid, Why do

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you ſend for me? *Cheiriſophus* anſwered, you ſee the Enemy have poſſeſſed themſelves of the Hill that commands the Deſcent, and unleſs we diſlodge them, it is not poſſible for us to paſs: but, adds he, why did you not bring the Targeteers with you? *Xenophon* replied, becauſe he did not think proper to leave the Rear naked, when the Enemy was in Sight: but, ſays he, it is high time to conſider how we ſhall diſlodge thoſe Men. Here *Xenophon* obſerving the Top of the Mountain, that was above their own Army, found there was a Paſſage from that to the Hill, where the Enemy was poſted. Upon this he ſaid, "*O* Cheiriſophus! *I think, the beſt Thing we can do, is to gain the Top of this Mountain, as ſoon as poſſible; for, if we are once Maſters of That, the Enemy cannot maintain themſelves upon the Hill. Do you ſtay with the Army, if you think fit, I'll go up to the Hill, or, do you go, if you deſire it, and I'll ſtay here.*" *Cheiriſophus* anſwered, I give you your Choice: To this *Xenophon* replied, that, as he was the younger Man, he choſe to go; but deſired he would ſend with him ſome Troops from the Front, ſince it would take

take a great Deal of Time to bring up a Detachment from the Rear. So *Cheirisophus* sent the Targeteers that were in the Front: *Xenophon* also took those that were in the Middle of the Square. Besides these, *Cheirisophus* ordered the three hundred chosen Men, who attended on himself in the Front of the Square, to follow him. BOOK III.

AFTER that they marched with all possible Expedition. The Enemy, who were upon the Hill, the Moment they saw them climb the Mountain, advanced at the same time striving to get there before them. Upon this Occasion there was a vast Shout raised both by the *Greek* Army, and that of *Tissaphernes* each encouraging their own Men. And *Xenophon*, riding by the Side of his Troops, called out to them, "*Soldiers! think you are this Minute contending to return to* Greece, *this Minute to see your Wives and Children: After this momentary Labour we shall go on without any further Opposition.*" To whom *Soteridas* the *Sicyonian* said, "*We are not upon equal Terms*, O Xenophon! *for you are on Horseback, while I*

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am greatly fatigued with carrying my Shield." *Xenophon* hearing this, leaped from his Horſe, and thruſt him out of his Rank; then, taking his Shield, marched on as faſt as he could. He happened to have a Horſeman's Corſlet on at that Time, which was very troubleſome. However, he called to thoſe who were before to mend their Pace, and to thoſe behind, who followed with great Difficulty, to come up. The reſt of the Soldiers beat and abuſed *Soteridas*, and threw Stones at him, 'till they obliged him to take his Shield, and go on. Then *Xenophon* remounted, and led them on Horſeback, as far as the Way would allow; and, when it became impaſſable for his Horſe, he haſtened forward on Foot. At laſt they gained the Top of the Mountain, and prevented the Enemy.

THEREUPON, the *Barbarians* turned their Backs, and fled every one as he could; and the *Greeks* remained Maſters of the Eminence. *Tiſſaphernes* and *Arieus* with their Men, turning out of the Road, went another way; while *Cheirisophus* with his Forces came down into the Plain,

Plain, and encamped in a Village abound- BOOK
ing in every Thing. There were alſo III.
many other Villages in this Plain, near
the *Tigris*, full of all Sorts of Proviſions.
In the Evening the Enemy appeared on
a ſudden in the Plain, and cut off ſome
of the *Greeks*, who were diſperſed in
plundering; for many Herds of Cattle
were taken, as the People of the Country
were endeavouring to make them paſs
the River. Here *Tiſſaphernes* and his
Army attempted to ſet Fire to the Vil-
lages; whereby ſome of the *Greeks* were
diſheartened, from the Apprehenſion of
wanting Proviſions if he burned them.
About this time *Cheiriſophus* and his Men
came back from relieving their Com-
panions, and *Xenophon*, being come down
into the Plain, and riding through the
Ranks, after the *Greeks* were returned,
ſaid. "*You ſee, O Greeks! the Enemy
already acknowledge the Country to be ours;
for, when they made Peace with us, they
ſtipulated that we ſhould not burn the Country
belonging to the King, and now they ſet Fire
to it themſelves; as if they looked upon it no
longer as their own. But, wherever they
leave any Proviſions for themſelves, thither
alſo*

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alſo they ſhall ſee us direct our March. But, O Cheiriſophus! *I think we ought to attack theſe Burners, as in Defence of our own Country.*" *Cheiriſophus* anſwered, *I am not of that Opinion. On the contrary, let us alſo ſet Fire to it ourſelves, and by that Means they will give over the ſooner.*"——

WHEN they came to their Tents, the Soldiers employed themſelves in getting Proviſions, and the Generals and Captains aſſembled, and were in great Perplexity: for, on one Side of them were exceeding high Mountains, and on the other, a River ſo deep, that, when they ſounded it with their Pikes, the Ends of them did not even appear above the Water. While they were in this Perplexity, a certain *Rhodian* came to them, and ſaid, "*Gentlemen! I'll undertake to carry over* [m] *four thouſand heavy-armed Men at a Time, if you'll ſupply me with what I want, and give me* [n] *a Talent for my Pains.*" Being aſked what he wanted, "*I ſhall want*, ſays he, *two thouſand leather Bags.*

I

[m] Κατὰ τετρακισχιλίους. This is the known Force of the Prepoſition κατὰ, as might be ſhewn by many Examples taken from the beſt Authors.

[n] Τάλαντον. See note [m], page 9.

I see here great numbers of Sheep, Goats, Oxen and Asses: if these are flayed, and their Skins blown, we may easily pass the River with them. I shall also want the Girts belonging to the sumpter Horses: With these, adds, he, *I will fasten the Bags to one another, and hanging Stones to them, let them down into the Water, instead of Anchors, then tie up the Bags at both Ends, and, when they are upon the Water, lay Fascines upon them, and cover them with Earth. I will make you presently sensible,* continues he, *that you can't sink, for every Bag will bear up two Men, and the Fascines and the Earth will prevent them from slipping.*" BOOK III.

THE Generals, hearing this, thought the Invention ingenious, but impossible to be put in Practice; there being great Numbers of Horse on the other Side of the River to oppose their Passage, and these would at once break all their Measures. The next Day the Army turned back again, taking a different Road from that which leads to *Babylon*; and marched to the Villages that were not burned, setting Fire to those they abandoned. Insomuch that the Enemy did not ride up

to

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to them, but looked on, wondering which Way the *Greeks* meant to take, and what their Intention was. Here, while the Soldiers were employed in getting Provisions, the Generals and Captains re-aſſembled, and ordering the Priſoners to be brought in, [o] enquired concerning every Country that lay round them. The Priſoners informed them that there was to the South a Road that led to *Babylon* and *Media*, through which they came; another to the Eaſt, leading to *Suſa* and *Ecbatana*, where the King is ſaid to paſs the Summer, and the Spring; a third to the Weſt over the *Tigris*, to *Lydia* and *Ionia*; and that the Road, which lay over the Mountains to the North, led to [p] the *Car-*

[o] Πλεγχον. Ελεγξει ἐβασανισεν. *Heſychius.*

[p] Καρδάχας. This People came afterwards to be better known under the Name of *Parthians*. I ſhould not have advanced this upon an Authority of leſs Weight, than that of *Strabo*; Πρὸς δὲ τῷ Τίγρει, ſays he, τὰ τῶν Παρθυαίων χωρία ἦν ἃ οἱ πάλαι Καρδάχας ἐλεγον. It was the Poſterity of this very People, with whom we ſhall find the *Greeks* engaged in the next Book, who, under the Conduct of their King *Arſaces*, freed their Country from the Dominion of the *Seleucidæ*, and afterwards became a Terror even to the *Romans*, who were ſo to the reſt of Mankind. They are ſtill called *Curds* and their Country *Curdiſtan*. *Plutarch* informs us that *Artaxerxes* (the ſame againſt whom this Expedition was formed) afterwards marched into the Country of the *Candaceans*, at the Head of

Strabo, 16 *B.*

Dion. Caſſius, 40 *B.*

Plutarch *Life of* Artaxerxes.

Carduchians. This People, they ſaid, inhabited thoſe Mountains, and that they were a warlike Nation, and not ſubject to the King; and that once the King's Army, conſiſting of one hundred and twenty thouſand Men, penetrated into their Country; whence not one of them returned, the Roads being hardly paſſable. But that whenever there was a Peace ſubſiſting between them and the Governor reſiding in the Plain, there was an Intercourſe between the two Nations. BOOK III.

THE Generals, hearing this, kept thoſe Priſoners by themſelves from whom they received the Intelligence of each Country, without diſcovering what Rout they deſigned to take. However, they found there was a Neceſſity to paſs the Mountains, and penetrate into the Country of the *Carduchians*: for the Priſoners informed them, that, as ſoon as they had paſſed through it, they ſhould arrive in *Armenia*, which was a ſpacious and plentiful

of three hundred thouſand Foot and ten thouſand Horſe; and that his Army had in all probability been deſtroyed by Famine, had not *Tiribazus*, by infuſing into the Minds of the two Kings of the *Carduchians* a mutual Diſtruſt, induced them to make Peace with the *Perſians*.

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tiful Country, and of which *Orontas* was Governor; whence they might, without difficulty, march which Way ſoever they pleaſed. Upon this they offered Sacrifice, to the End, that, when they found it convenient, they might depart, (for they were afraid the Paſs over the Mountains might be poſſeſſed by the Enemy) and commanded the Soldiers, as ſoon as they had ſupped, to get their Baggage ready; then all to go to Reſt, and march upon the firſt Order.

The End of the Third Book.

THE

THE EXPEDITION OF CYRUS.

BOOK IV.

WE have hitherto given an Account of what happened in the Expedition of *Cyrus* to the time of the Battle, of what happened after the Battle, during the Truce concluded between the King and the *Greeks* who had ſerved under *Cyrus*, and in what Manner, after the King and *Tiſſaphernes* had broken the Truce, the *Greeks* were

BOOK IV. haraſſed, while they were followed by the *Perſian* Army.

WHEN the *Greeks* came to the Place, where the River *Tigris* is, both from its Depth, and Breadth, abſolutely impaſſable, and no Road appeared, the craggy Mountains of the *Carduchians* hanging over the River, the Generals reſolved to march over thoſe Mountains: For they were informed by the Priſoners, that, after they had paſſed them, they would have it in their Power to croſs the Head of the *Tigris* in *Armenia*, if they thought proper; if not, to go round it. [a] The Source of the *Euphrates* alſo was ſaid

[a] Καὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην τε τὰς πηγὰς ἐλέγετο ὑ πρόσω τοῦ Τίγρητος εἶναι. *Strabo* informs us that the *Euphrates* and *Tigris* both riſe out of mount *Taurus*, the former on the North of it, and the latter on the South, and that the Sources of theſe Rivers are diſtant from one another about two thouſand five hundred Stadia, διέχουσι δὲ ἀλλήλων αἱ πηγαὶ τοῦ τε Εὐφράτου καὶ τοῦ Τίγρητος περὶ δισχιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους σταδίους. I cannot omit, upon this occaſion, an Obſervation of the learned Biſhop of *Avranches*, who ſays that the Name of Mount *Taurus* comes from the general Word טור *Tor*, which in the *Chaldaic* Language, ſignifies a *Mountain*, and is applicable to every Mountain in the World: this he confirms by the Teſtimony of *Diodorus Siculus*, who, ſpeaking of the Building of *Tauromínium* in *Sicily*, calls the Mountain *Taurus* upon which it ſtood, λόφος, *a Hill*. But it muſt be obſerved, that the Mountain from whence the *Euphrates* riſes, is

Strabo, 11 B.

Huet. Com. des Anc. c. 56.

Diod. Sic. 14 B.

ſaid not to be far diſtant from that of the *Tigris*: and indeed the Diſtance between theſe two Rivers is in ſome places but ſmall. To the End therefore that the Enemy might not be acquainted with their Deſign of penetrating into the Country of the *Carduchians*, and defeat it, by poſſeſſing themſelves of the Eminences, they executed it in the following Manner. When it was [b] about the laſt

more properly a Branch of Mount *Taurus*, which *Strabo* in the ſame Book calls *Abos*. *Tournefort* who was upon the Place, ſays, that the *Euphrates* has two Sources riſing out of that Mountain, which Sources form two beautiful Rivulets, both called by the Name of *Frat*: And that theſe Rivulets make a kind of Peninſula of the Plain, in which *Erzeron*, the Capital of *Armenia*, ſtands, and afterwards unite their Streams at a Village, called *Mommacotum*, which, he ſays, is about three Days Journey from *Erzeron*. I ſhall only add that *Moſes*, in his Deſcription of Paradiſe, calls this River פרת *Phrath*, which the Septuagint has tranſlated Ευφράτης; though by the way it is pretty plain theſe Letters were not thoſe made uſe of by *Moſes*, ſince the *Jews* uſed the *Samaritan* Letters 'till their Captivity at *Babylon*, and adopted the *Syriac* or *Chaldaic* at their Return.

Tournefort, 18 *Letter.*

Gen. *c.* ii. *ver.* 14.

Origines *in a Fragment in* Montfaucon.

Jerom *in his Pref to the B of* Kings.

Scalig. *in his Notes upon* Euſ. Montfaucon, 2 *B.* Palæogr. Pl. N. H. 7 *B. c.* 56.

[b] Τελευταίαν φυλακήν. The Author of the *Etymologicum* thinks that φυλακὴ comes from φυλή; the Reaſon he gives for it is, *becauſe the Watches were kept by the Tribes*, λέγησι γὰρ ὅτι τὰς φυλακάς; αἱ φυλαὶ εἶχον· ὅθεν λέγεται καὶ πρώτη φυλακὴ τῆς νυκτὸς, καὶ δευτέρα, καὶ τρίτη· κατὰ γὰρ τρεῖς ὥρας ἐφύλαττε μία φυλή. *From thence*, ſays he, *they ſay the firſt, ſecond, and third Watch, becauſe one tribe watched three Hours*. The Invention of theſe Watches, together with that of many other military Inſtitutions, *Pliny* aſcribes to Palemedes, *Ordinem exercitus, ſigni dationem, Teſſeras, Vigilias invenit Palamedes Trojano Bello.*

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laſt Watch, and ſo much of the Night was left, as to allow them to traverſe the Plain while it was yet dark, they decamped, and, marching when the Order was given, came to the Mountain by break of Day. *Cheiriſophus* commanded the Vanguard with his own People, and all the light-armed Men; and *Xenophon* brought up the Rear with the heavy-armed, having none of the light-armed, becauſe there ſeemed no Danger of the Enemy's attacking their Rear, while they were marching up the Mountain. *Cheiriſophus* gained the Top before he was perceived by the Enemy: then led forward; and the reſt of the Army, as faſt as they paſſed the Summit, followed him into the Villages, that lay diſperſed in the Valleys and Receſſes of the Mountains.

UPON this, the *Carduchians* left their Houſes, and, with their Wives and Children, fled to the Hills, where they had an Opportunity of ſupplying themſelves with Proviſions in Abundance. The Houſes were well furniſhed with all ſorts of braſs Utenſils, which the *Greeks* forbore to plunder; neither did they purſue the

the Inhabitants, in Hope, by ſparing them, to prevail upon the *Carduchians*, ſince they were Enemies to the King, to conduct them through their Country in a friendly Manner: But they took all the Proviſions they met with; for they were compelled to it by Neceſſity. However, the *Carduchians* paid no Regard to their Invitations, or ſhewed any other Symptoms of a friendly Diſpoſition: and, when the Rear of the *Greek* Army was deſcending from the Top of the Mountains into the Villages, it being now dark, (for as the Way was narrow, they ſpent the whole Day in the Aſcent of the Mountains, and the Deſcent from thence into the Villages) ſome of the *Carduchians*, gathering together, attacked the hindmoſt, and killed and wounded ſome of them with Stones, and Arrows. They were but few in number; for the *Greek* Army came upon them unawares. Had the Enemy been more numerous at that Time, great Part of the Army had been in Danger. In this Manner they paſſed the Night in the Villages: the *Carduchians* made Fires all round them upon the Mountains, and both had their Eyes upon one another.

As

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As ſoon as it was Day, the Generals and the Captains of the *Greeks* aſſembled, and reſolved to reſerve only thoſe ſumpter Horſes upon their March that were neceſſary and moſt able, and to leave the reſt, and diſmiſs all the Slaves they had newly taken: for the great number of ſumpter Horſes and Slaves retarded their March; and many of their Men, by having Charge of theſe, were unfit for Action. Beſides, there being ſo many Mouths, they were under a Neceſſity of providing and carrying double the Quantity of Proviſions. This being reſolved, they gave Orders to have it put in Execution. ——

WHILE therefore they were upon their March after Dinner, the Generals placed themſelves in a narrow Paſs, and, whatever they found reſerved by the Soldiers, contrary to Order, they took it away; and the Men ſubmitted, unleſs any of them happened privately to have retained ſome Boy, or beautiful Woman he was fond of. In this Manner they marched that Day, ſometimes fighting, and ſometimes reſting themſelves. The

next

next Day there was a great Storm, however, they were obliged to go on; for their Proviſions failed them. *Cheiriſophus* led the Van, and *Xenophon* brought up the Rear. Here, the Ways being narrow, the Enemy made a briſk Attack upon them, and, coming up cloſe, diſcharged their Arrows, and made uſe of their Slings: So that the *Greeks*, ſometimes purſuing, and ſometimes retreating, were obliged to march ſlowly; and *Xenophon* often ordered the Army to halt, when the Enemy preſſed hard upon them. Upon one of theſe Orders *Cheiriſophus*, who uſed to ſtand ſtill on the like Occaſions, did not ſtop, but marched faſter than uſual, and ordered the Men to follow. By this it appeared there was ſomething extraordinary, but they were not at Leiſure to ſend to him to enquire the Cauſe of this Haſte: So that the March of thoſe in the Rear had the Reſemblance more of a Flight, than a Retreat. Here fell a brave Man, *Cleonymus* a *Lacedæmonian*, who was wounded in the Side by an Arrow, that made its Way both through his Shield and his buff Coat. Here alſo fell *Baſias* an *Arcadian*, whoſe Head was

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pierced quite through with an Arrow. When they were arrived at the Place, where they designed to encamp, *Xenphon* immediately went, as he was, to *Cheirisophus*, and blamed him for not stopping, but obliging the Rear to fly and fight at the same Time. "*Here we have lost two brave and worthy Men, says he, without being able either to bring them off, or to bury them.*" To this *Cheirisophus* answered, "*Cast your Eyes, upon those Mountains, and observe how unpassable they all are. You see there is but one Road, and that a steep one. It is, you may observe, possessed too by a great Multitude of Men, who stand ready to defend it. For this Reason I marched hastily, without staying for you, that, if possible, I might prevent the Enemy, and make myself Master of the Pass: for our Guides assure us there is no other Road.*" *Xenophon* replied, "*I have two Prisoners: for, when the Enemy molested us in our March, we placed some Men in Ambush, (which gave us time to breathe) and, having killed some of them, we were also desirous of taking some alive with this View, that we might have Guides who were acquainted with the Country.*"

THE

THE Priſoners therefore being brought before them, they [c] queſtioned them ſeparately, whether they knew of any other Road than That, which lay before them. BOOK IV.

One of them ſaid he knew no other, though he was threatened with divers Kinds of Torture. As he ſaid nothing to the Purpoſe, he was put to Death in the Preſence of the other. The Survivor ſaid, this Man pretended he did not know the other Road, becauſe he had a Daughter married to a Man, who lived there: But that he himſelf would undertake to conduct us through a Road that was paſſable even for the ſumpter Horſes. Being aſked whether there was any difficult Paſs in that Road, he ſaid there was a Summit, which, if not ſecured in Time, would render the Paſſage impracticable. Upon this it was thought proper to aſſemble the Captains, the Targeteers, and ſome of the heavy-armed Men: And, having informed them how Matters ſtood, to aſk them whether any of them would ſhew their Gallantry, and voluntarily undertake this Service. Two of the heavy-armed Men offered themſelves, *Ariſ-*

[c] Πλεγχου. See note [o], page 232.

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Ariſtonymus of *Methydria*, and *Agaſias* of *Stymphalus*, both *Arcadians*. But *Callimachus* of *Parrhaſie*, an *Arcadian*, and *Agaſias* had a Conteſt who ſhould undertake it. The latter ſaid that he would go, and take with him Voluntiers out of the whole Army. "*For I am well aſſured, ſays he, if I have the Command, many of the Youth will follow me.*" After that they aſked if any of the light-armed Men, or of their Officers would alſo be of the Party. Upon which *Ariſteas* of *Chios* preſented himſelf. He had, upon many Occaſions of this nature, done great Service to the Army.

THE [d] Day was now far advanced: So the Generals ordered theſe to eat ſomething, and ſet out; and delivered the Guide to them bound. It was agreed that if they made themſelves Maſters of the Summit, they ſhould make it good that Night, and, as ſoon as it was Day, give them Notice of it by ſounding a Trumpet: And that thoſe above ſhould charge that Body of the Enemy that was poſt-

[d] Καὶ ἦν μὲν δείλη. That is the middle of the Afternoon. See note [b], page 84.

posted in the Passage that lay before them, while those below marched up to their Assistance with all the Expedition they were able. When Things were thus ordered, they set forward, being about two thousand in Number. And, notwithstanding it rained most violently, *Xenophon* marched at the Head of the Rear-Guard towards the Passage before them, in order to draw the Attention of the Enemy that Way, and conceal, as much as possible, the March of the Detachment. When *Xenophon*, with the Rear-Guard, came to [c] a Valley which they were to pass, in order to climb the Ascent, the *Barbarians* rolled down [f] vast round Stones, each a Ton in Weight, with others both larger and smaller. These, being dashed against the Rocks in their

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[c] Χαράδραν. See note [b], page 210.

[f] Ολοτρόχους ἁμαξιαίους. Ολότροχος is here a Substantive, like ὁλοόιτροχος in *Homer*, and used in the same Sense with that in the following Verse,

—— ὁλοόιτροχος ὡς ἀπὸ πέτρης
Ον τε κατὰ σφύνης ποταμὸς χειμάῤῥοος ὦσιν,
Ῥήξας ἀσπέτῳ ὄμβρῳ ἀναιδέος ἔχματα πέτρης,
Γψοῖ τ' ἀναθρώσκων πέτεται ——.

Homer Il. N.

Where ὁλοόιτροχος is thus explained by the *Greek* Scholiast, λίθος περιφερής, τροχοειδής. Ἁμαξιαῖοι λίθοι literally signifies Stones so large, that each of them was a Cart Load, or, what we call, a Ton Weight.

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their Fall, the Splinters [g] were hurled every Way, which made it abſolutely impoſſible to approach the Road. Some of the Captains deſpairing to gain this Paſſage, endeavoured to find out another, and employed themſelves in this Manner, 'till it was dark. When they imagined they could retire without being ſeen, they went away to get their Supper; for the Rear-Guard had not dined that Day. However, the Enemy continued to roll down Stones all Night, as was perceived by the Noiſe they made in their Fall. In the

[g] Διεσφενδονῶντο. This Word happily expreſſes the impetuous Diſperſion of the Splinters, when the Stones were ſhattered by falling againſt the Rocks. There is a Paſſage in *Euripides*, where this Word without the Prepoſition is very beautifully, or rather dreadfully made Uſe of to expreſs the ſcattering of the Limbs of *Capaneus*, when he was daſhed to pieces by a Thunderbolt juſt as he was ſcaling the Battlements of *Thebes*,

Euripides Φοιν. ἐν δέ.

Ἤδη δ' ὑπερβάινοντα γ ἰσοστάτιγ ὠν
Βάλλει κεραυνῷ Ζεὺς νιν. ἐκτύπησε δὲ
χθὼν, ὥστε δῖσαι πάντας. ἐκ δὲ κλιμακων
Ἐσφενδόνατο χωρὶς ἀλλήλων μελη.
Κομαὶ μὲν εἰς Ὄλυμπον· αἷμα δ' εἰς χθόνα
Κεῖρες δὲ κῆλ' ὡς κυκλωμ' Ἰξιονῦ
Ἐλίσσετ'. εἰς γῆν δ' ἔμπυος πίπτει νεκρος.

While o'er the Battlements Capaneus *ſprung,*
Jove ſtruck him with his Thunder, and the Earth
Reſounded with the Crack; mean while Mankind
Stood all aghaſt; from off the Ladder's Height
His Limbs were far asunder hurl'd, his Hair
Flew towards Olympus, *to the Ground his Blood,*
His Hands and Feet whirl'd like Ixion's *Wheel,*
And to the Earth his flaming Body fell.

the mean Time, thoſe, who marched round with the Guide, ſurprized the Enemy's Guard as they were ſitting round a Fire: And, having killed ſome of them, and forced others down the Precipice, they ſtaid there, thinking they had made themſelves Maſters of the Summit. But in this they were miſtaken, for there was ſtill an Eminence above them, near which lay the narrow Way, where the Guard ſate: There was indeed a Paſſage, from the Poſt they had taken, to that the Enemy were poſſeſſed of in the open Road. Here they remained that Night. BOOK IV.

As ſoon as it was Day, they put themſelves in Order, and marched in Silence againſt the Enemy: And, there being a Miſt, came cloſe to them before they were perceived. When they ſaw one another, the Trumpet ſounded, and the *Greeks* ſhouting, made their Attack. However the *Barbarians* did not ſtand to receive them, but quitted the Road, very few of them being killed in the Flight: for they were prepared for Expedition. *Chirifophus* and his Men, hearing the Trumpet, immediately marched up

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up the Pass which lay before them. The rest of the Generals took Bye-paths, each of them where he happened to be, and, climbing as well as they could, [h] drew up one another with their Pikes; And these were the first who joined the Detachment that had gained the Post. *Xenophon*, with one half of the Rear-Guard, marched up the same Way those went who had the Guide, (this Road being the most convenient for the sumpter Horses) the other half he ordered to come up behind the Baggage. In their March they came to a Hill that commanded the Road, and was possessed by the Enemy, whom they were either to dislodge, or to be severed from the rest of the *Greeks*. The Men indeed might have gone the same Way the rest took, but the sumpter Horses could go no other. Encouraging therefore one another, they made their Attack upon

[h] Ἀνίμων. From ἵημι; but ἀνιμᾶν in the best Authors signifies to *draw up* any thing generally. So *Dion Cassius* 51 B. uses the Word, when he says *Marc Antony* begged of those who were about him, to carry him to *Cleopatra*'s Sepulchre, and *draw him up* to the Top of it by the Ropes that hung down to draw up the Stones employed in the Structure of it: ἱκέτευε τοὺς παρόντας, ὅπως ἄγωσι τὸ μνῆμα αὐτὸν κομίσωσι, καὶ διὰ τῶν σχοινίων τῶν πρὸς τὴν ἀνωλκὴν τῶν λίθων κρεμαμένων ἀνιμήσασι

upon the Hill [1] in Columns, not furrounding it, but leaving the Enemy Room to run away, if they were ſo diſpoſed. Accordingly, the *Barbarians* ſeeing our Men marching up the Hill, every one where he could, without diſcharging either their Arrows, or their Darts upon thoſe who approached the Road, fled, and quitted the Place. The *Greeks*, having marched by this Hill, ſaw another before them alſo poſſeſſed by the Enemy. This they reſolved to attack likewiſe: But *Xenophon* conſidering, that, if he left the Hill, they had already taken, without a Guard, the Enemy might repoſſeſs it, and from thence annoy the ſumpter Horſes as they paſſed by them; (for the Way being narrow, there was a long File of them.) He therefore left upon this Hill *Cephiſodorus* the Son of *Cephiſiphon*, an *Athenian*, and *Archagoras* a baniſhed *Argive*, both

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[1] Ὀρθοῖς τοῖς λόχοις. What λόχος ὄρθιος, or φάλαγξ ὀρθία, is, we may learn from *Arrian* in his *Tactics*: ὀρθία (φάλαγξ) ſays he, ὅταν ἐπὶ κέρας, (or κέρως) πορεύηται· ἄτω, δὲ ἂν τὸ βάθος τοῦ μήκους πολλαπλάσιον παρέχηται· ὅλως τε παράμηκες μὲν τάγμα ὀνομάζεται, ὅτε πλέον ἂν τὸ μῆκος ἔχῃ ἐπιπλεῖον τοῦ βάθους· ὄρθιον δὲ, ὅτε πλέον ἂν τὸ βάθος τοῦ μήκους. So that ὀρθία φάλαγξ is properly an Army, and λόχοι ὄρθιοι are Companies drawn up in Columns, where as *Arrian* ſays, there are many more men in Depth, than in Front.

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both Captains; while he, with the reſt, marched to the ſecond Hill, and took that alſo in the ſame manner. There yet remained a third, by much the ſteepeſt. This was the Eminence that commanded the Poſt where the Guard was ſurprized at the Fire, the Night before, by the Detachment. When the *Greeks* approached the Hill, the *Barbarians* quitted it without ſtriking a Stroke: So that every body was ſurprized, and ſuſpected they left the Place, fearing to be ſurrounded and beſieged in it. But the Truth was, that, ſeeing from the Eminence what paſſed behind, they all made Haſte away with a Deſign to fall upon the Rear.

XENOPHON, with the youngeſt of his Men, aſcended to the Top of this Hill, and ordered the reſt to march ſlowly after, that the two Captains, who were left behind, might join them: And that when they were all together, they ſhould chuſe ſome even Place in the Road, and there ſtand to their Arms. He had no ſooner given his Orders than *Archagoras*, the *Argive*, came flying from the Enemy, and brought an Account, that they were driven

driven from the first Hill, and that *Cephi-* BOOK
sodorus and *Amphicrates*, and all the rest, IV.
who had not leaped from the Rock and joined the Rear, were slain. The *Barbarians*, after this Advantage, came to the Hill opposite to that where *Xenophon* stood; and *Xenophon* treated with them, by an Interpreter, concerning a Truce, and demanded the Dead. They consented to deliver them, provided he agreed not to burn their Villages. *Xenophon* came into this. While the other part of the Army approached, and these were employed in treating, all the Men moved from the Post they were in towards the same Place. Upon this the Enemy made a stand, and, when the *Greeks* began to descend from the Top of the Hill to join those who were drawn up in Order of Battle, they advanced in great Numbers, and with Tumult; and, after they had gained the top of the Hill, which *Xenophon* had quitted, they rolled down Stones, and broke the Leg of one of our Men. Here *Xenophon*'s Armour-bearer deserted him, taking away his Shield: But *Eurylochus* of *Lusia*, an *Arcadian*, and one of the heavy-armed Men ran to his Relief,

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and covered both himſelf and *Xenophon* with his Shield, while the reſt joined thoſe who ſtood ready drawn up.

AND now the *Greeks* were all together, and quartered there, in many fine Houſes, where they found Proviſions in Abundance: For there was ſo great a Plenty of Wine, that they kept it in plaiſtered Ciſterns. Here *Xenophon* and *Cheiriſophus* prevailed upon the *Barbarians* to deliver up their Dead in Exchange for the Guide. Theſe, as far as they were able, they buried with all the Honours that are due to the Memory of brave Men. The next Day they marched without a Guide, and the Enemy, both by fighting with them, and ſeizing all the Paſſes, endeavoured to hinder them from advancing. Whenever therefore they oppoſed the Vanguard, *Xenophon* aſcending the Mountains from behind, endeavoured to gain ſome Poſt that commanded the Enemy, and by this Means opened a Paſſage for thoſe who were in the Van: And, when they attacked the Rear, *Cheiriſophus* aſcended the Hills, and endeavouring alſo to get above the Enemy, removed the Obſtruction

tion they gave to the march of the Rear. Thus they were very attentive to relieve one another. Sometimes alſo the *Barbarians*, after the *Greeks* had aſcended the Eminences, gave them great Diſturbance in their Deſcent: For they were very nimble; and though they came near to our Men, yet ſtill they got off, having no other Arms but Bows and Slings. They were very ſkilful Archers: Their Bows were near three Cubits in length, and their Arrows above two. When they diſcharged their Arrows, [k] they drew the String

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[k] Εἶλκον δὲ τὰς νευρὰς, ὁπότε τοξεύοιεν, πρὸς τὸ κάτω τῇ τόξῳ τῷ ἀριστερῷ ποδὶ προβαίνοντες. This Paſſage has, I find, very much puzzled the Tranſlators. Both *Leunclavius* and *Hutchinſon* have attempted to amend it: But, without entering into the Merits of thoſe Amendments, I ſhall produce a Paſſage out of *Arrian*, which will, I believe, not only explain this, but alſo ſhew that no Amendment at all is neceſſary. The Paſſage, I mean, is, where he is ſpeaking of the *Indian* Archers, who, like theſe *Carduchians* in *Xenophon*, aſſiſted themſelves with their left Foot in drawing their ſtrong Bows. It is this, Arrian οἱ μὲν περὶ αὐτοῖσι (τοῖσι Ἰνδοῖσι) τόξον τε ἔχουσιν ἰσόμηκες περὶ τὸν τῷ Φορέοντι τὸ τόξον· ἢ τοῦτο κάτω ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν θέντες, ἢ τῷ Ἰνδικῷ ποδὶ τὰ ἀριστερῷ ἀντιβάντες, ἤτοι ἐκτοξεύουσι, τὴν νευρὴν ἐπὶ μέγα ὀπίσω ἀπαγαγόντες. Where *Xenophon* ſays προβαίνοντες, which all the Tranſlators have been deſirous to alter, *Arrian* ſays ἀντιβάντες, which, I think, ſufficiently explains it. The only Thing that remains is to take away the Comma after τόξῳ, that πρὸς τὸ κάτω τῇ τόξῳ may belong to τῷ ἀριστερῷ ποδὶ προβαίνοντες, and not to εἶλκον τὰς νευρὰς, as both *Leunclavius* and *Hutchinſon* have tranſlated it; the firſt having ſaid *nec eos, emitturi ſagittas,*

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String by preſſing upon the lower part of the Bow with their left Foot. [1] Theſe Arrows pierced through the Shields and Corſlets of our Men, who taking them up, made Uſe of them inſtead of Darts, by fixing Thongs to them. In theſe Places the *Cretans* were of great Service. They were commanded by *Stratocles*, a *Cretan*.

THIS

·verſus imam partem arcus tendebant; and *Hutchinſon*, *nervos, cùm ſagittas miſſuri eſſent, ad imam arcus partem adducebant*: Neither of which has any Meaning, for I appeal to all my Brother Archers, (having the Honour to be of that Number) or indeed to any other Perſon, whether they underſtand what is meant by drawing the String to the lower Part of the Bow. After all this, I deſire I may not be thought to claim any Advantage over thoſe two learned Gentlemen by this Diſcovery, ſince I am entirely perſuaded, that, had they chanced to caſt their Eyes upon *Arrian*, while the Difficulties of this Paſſage were freſh in their Memories, which happened to be my Caſe, they would have made the ſame, or a better Uſe of it. *D'Ablancourt* has left out that Part of the Paſſage, that occaſions the Difficulty.

[1] Τὰ δὲ τοξεύματα ἰχώρει διὰ τῶν ἀσπίδων καὶ διὰ τῶν θωράκων. We find the Poſterity of theſe *Carduchians* uſing the ſame Weapons with the ſame Succeſs againſt the *Romans* in the Expedition of *Marcus Craſſus*, the Death of whoſe Son, who was pierced by theſe irreſiſtable Arrows, is ſo pathetically deſcribed by *Plutarch*. *Mark Antony* alſo, and his Men, in their unfortunate Retreat, felt the violent Effect of them, which drew from him this Exclamation Ὦ μάκαρες! Happy the ten thouſand *Greeks* who being purſued by the ſame Enemies, retreated with ſo much better Succeſs! but alas! his Thoughts and Heart were in *Egypt*, whither he was hallening, for which Reaſon all the Diſadvantages his Army ſuffered from the *Parthians*, were grievous to him, rather as they were Delays than Defeats.

Plutarch in Craſſus and Mark Antony.

THIS Day they ſtaid in the Villages ſituate above the Plain that extends to the River *Centrites*, which is two hundred Feet broad, and the Boundary between *Armenia* and the Country of the *Carduchians*. Here the *Greeks* reſted themſelves. This River is about ſix or ſeven Stadia from the *Carduchian* Mountains. Here therefore they ſtaid with great Satisfaction, having Plenty of Proviſions, and often calling to Mind the Difficulties they had undergone: For, during the ſeven Days, they had marched through the Country of the *Carduchians*, they were continually fighting, and ſuffered more than from all the Attempts of the King and *Tiſſaphernes*. Looking upon themſelves therefore, as freed from theſe Hardſhips, they reſted with Pleaſure. But, as ſoon as it was Day, they ſaw a Body of Horſe, on the other Side of the River, compleatly armed, and ready to oppoſe their Paſſage; and, above the Horſe, another of Foot drawn up upon an Eminence, to hinder them from penetrating into *Armenia*. Theſe were *Armenians*, *Mygdonians*, and *Chalybeans*, all mercenary Troops, belonging to *Orontas* and *Artuchus*.

BOOK IV. *chus.* The *Chaldæans* were ſaid to be a free People, and Warlike: Their Arms were long Shields and Spears. The Eminence upon which they were drawn up, was about three or four hundred Feet from the River. The only Road the *Greeks* could diſcover, led upwards, and ſeemed to have been made by Art. Over-againſt this Road the *Greeks* endeavoured to paſs the River: But, upon Trial, they found the Water came up above their Breaſts, that the River was rendered uneven by large ſlippery Stones, and that it was not poſſible for them to hold their Arms in the Water, which if they attempted, they were borne away by the Stream, and, if they carried them upon their Heads, they were expoſed to the Arrows, and the other miſſive Weapons of the Enemy. They retired therefore, and encamped on the Banks of the River.

FROM hence they diſcovered a great Number of armed *Cardiachians*, who were got together upon the Mountain, in the very Place where they had encamped the Night before. Here the *Greeks* were very much

much disheartened, seeing on one Side of them a River hardly passable, and the Banks of it covered with Troops to obstruct their Passage, and on the other, the *Carduchians* ready to fall upon their Rear, if they attempted it. This Day therefore, and the following Night, they remained in the same Place under great Perplexity. Here *Xenophon* had a Dream, he thought he was in Chains, and that his Chains breaking asunder of their own accord, he found himself at Liberty, and went whithersoever he pleased. As soon as the first Dawn of Day appeared, he went to *Cheirisophus*, and told him he was in hopes every thing would be well, and acquainted him with his Dream. *Cheirisophus* was pleased to hear it: And, while the Morn advanced, all the Generals, who were present, offered Sacrifice, and the very first Victims were favourable. As soon therefore as the Sacrifice was over, the Generals and Captains departing ordered the Soldiers to [m] get their Break-

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[m] Ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι. I have translated this in the same Sense *Homer* says of *Ulysses* and *Eumæus*,

Τὼ δ' αὖτ' ἐν κλισίῃς Ὀδυσσεὺς καὶ θεῖος ὑφορβὸς
Ἐντύνονθ' ἄριστον ἅμ' ἠοῖ. ——— Homer Odyss. ω.

Where ἄριστον is thus explained by the *Greek* Scholiast, τὴν ἑωθινὴν τροφήν.

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Breakfaſt. While *Xenophon* was at Breakfaſt, two young Men came to him, for it was well known that all Perſons might have free acceſs to him at his Meals; and, that, were he even aſleep, they might wake him, if they had any thing to communicate concerning the Operations of the War. Theſe Youths informed him, that, while they were getting Bruſh-wood for the Fire, they ſaw on the other Side of the River, among the Rocks that reached down to it, an old Man, and a Woman with ſome Maid-Servants, hiding ſomething, that looked like Bags full of Clothes, in the hollow of a Rock. That, ſeeing this, they thought they might ſecurely paſs the River, becauſe the Place was inacceſſible to the Enemy's Horſe. So they undreſſed themſelves, and, taking their naked Daggers in their Hands, propoſed to ſwim over: But the River being fordable, they found themſelves on the other Side before the Water came up to their Middle: And, having taken the Clothes, repaſſed it.

XENOPHON, hearing this, made a Libation himſelf, and ordered Wine to be

be given to the Youths to do the ſame, and that they ſhould addreſs their Prayers to the Gods, who had ſent the Dream, and diſcovered the Paſſage to compleat their Happineſs. After the Libation, he immediately carried the two Youths to *Cheiriſophus*, to whom they gave the ſame Account. *Cheiriſophus*, hearing this, made Libations alſo. After that, they gave Orders to the Soldiers to get their Baggage ready. Then, aſſembling the Generals, they conſulted with them in what Manner they ſhould paſs the River with moſt Advantage, and both overcome thoſe who oppoſed them in Front, and ſecure themſelves againſt the others, who threatened their Rear. And it was reſolved that *Cheiriſophus* ſhould lead the Van, and paſs over with one half of the Army, while the other ſtaid with *Xenophon*: And that the ſumpter Horſes, with all thoſe that attended the Army, ſhould paſs in the middle. After this Diſpoſition was made, they began their March. The two Youths led the way, keeping the River on their left. They had about four Stadia to go before they came to the Ford.

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As they marched on one Side of the River, ſeveral Bodies of Horſe advanced on the other oppoſite to them. When they came to the Ford, and to the Bank of the River, the Men ſtood to their Arms, and firſt *Cheiriſophus*, with a Garland upon his Head, pulled off his Clothes, and, taking his Arms, commanded all the reſt to do the ſame: He then ordered the Captains to draw up their Companies in [n] Columns, and march ſome on his left Hand, and ſome on his right. In the mean Time the Prieſts offered Sacrifice, and poured the Blood of the Victims into the River; and the Enemy from their Bows and Slings diſcharged a Volly of Arrows and Stones, but none of them reached our Men. After the Victims appeared favourable, all the Soldiers ſung the Pæan and [o] ſhouted, and all the Women anſwered them; for the

[n] Λόχους ὀρθίους. See note [l], page 249.

[o] Οἱ στρατιῶται ἀνηλάλαζον, συνωλόλυζον δὲ αἱ γυναῖκες. The firſt is known to be a military Shout, the other is properly a ſupplicatory Acclamation of Women: So *Homer* ſays of the *Trojan* Women addreſſing their Prayers to *Minerva*,

Homer Il. Z. Αἱ δ' ἐλολυγῇ πᾶσαι Ἀθήνῃ χεῖρας ἀνέσχον.

Upon which the *Greek* Scholiaſt obſerves, φωνὴ δὲ αὕτη γυναικῶν ἰυχομένων θεοῖς.

the Men had many Miſtreſſes in the Army. BOOK IV.

IMMEDIATELY *Cheiriſophus* with his Men, went into the River; and *Xenophon*, taking thoſe of the Rear-guard, who were moſt prepared for Expedition, marched back in all Haſte to the Paſſage oppoſite to the Road that led to the *Armenian* Mountains, making a Feint, as if his Deſign was to paſs the River in that Place, and intercept the Horſe that were marching along the Bank of it. The Enemy, ſeeing *Cheiriſophus* with his Men paſſing the River with great Eaſe, and *Xenophon*, with his Forces, marching back in all Haſte, were afraid of being intercepted, and fled with Precipitation to the Road, that led from the River up into the Country. Having gained that Road, they continued their March up the Mountain. As ſoon as *Lycius*, who had the Command of the Horſe, and *Æſchines*, who commanded the Targeteers belonging to *Cheiriſophus* ſaw the Enemy flying with ſo much Haſte, they purſued them, the reſt of the Soldiers crying out to them that they would not be left behind, but

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but would march up the Mountain in a Body. When *Cheirisophus* had passed the River with his Forces, he did not pursue the Horse, but marched along the Bank against the other Body of the Enemy that was posted upon the upper Ground. These, finding themselves abandoned by their Horse, and seeing our heavy-armed Men coming up to attack them, quitted the Eminence that commanded the River.

XENOPHON therefore perceiving every thing went well on the other Side, returned in all Haste to the Army that was passing over; for, by this Time the *Carduchians* were seen descending into the Plain, as if they designed to fall upon the Rear. *Cheirisophus* had now possessed himself of the Eminence, and *Lycius*, while he was pursuing the Enemy, with a few of his Men, took Part of their Baggage that was left behind, and in it, rich Apparel, and drinking Cups. The Baggage of the *Greeks*, with those who had Charge of it, was yet passing; when *Xenophon*, facing about, [p] drew up his Men against the *Carduchians*. He ordered

[p] Λαβὼν τὰ ὅπλα ἴδιος. See note [r], page 63.

ed all the Captains to divide their ſeveral Companies into [r] two diſtinct Bodies of twenty-five Men each, and to extend their [s] Front to the [t] Left, and that the Captains with the Leaders of theſe diſtinct Bodies ſhould march againſt the *Carduchians*, while the [u] hindmoſt Men of every File poſted themſelves upon the Bank of the River. BOOK IV.

Now the *Carduchians*, when they ſaw the Rear reduced to a few by the Departure of thoſe who had the Charge of the Baggage, advanced the faſter, ſinging as they came on. Upon this, *Cheiriſophus*, ſeeing all on his Side was ſecure, ſent the Tar-

[q] Λόχον. See note [z], page 28.

[r] Καθ' ἑνωμοτίας. See note [g], page 218.

[s] Ἐπὶ φάλαγγος. This is the Reverſe of ἐπὶ κέρως, which was explained in note [t], page 249. As therefore ἐπὶ κέρως is a Diſpoſition, in which the Depth very much exceeds the Front, ſo ἐπὶ φαλαγγος is another, in which the Front very much exceeds the Depth.

[t] Παρ' ἀσπίδας. All the ancient Maſters of Tactics inform us, that ἐπὶ δορυ κλίνειν, ἐπ' ἀσπίδα κλίνειν, were Words of Command among the *Greeks* for the Foot; the firſt ſignifying *to the Pike*, that is, *to the Right*, and the ſecond, *to the Shield*, that is, *to the Left*; and that the Words of Command for the Horſe were the ſame as to the firſt, but that, inſtead of the ſecond, they ſaid, ἐφ' ἡνίαν κλίνειν, *to the Bridle*.

[u] Οὐραγούς. Theſe in *Arrian* are, what we call the *Bringers up*, that is, the hindmoſt Men of every File. Arrian in his Tact.

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Targeteers, the Slingers, and Archers to *Xenophon*, with Directions to do whatever he commanded: But he, as ſoon as he ſaw them coming down the Hill, ſent a Meſſenger to them with Orders to halt, as ſoon as they came to the River; and that, when they ſaw him begin to paſs it with his Men, they ſhould come forward in the Water on each ſide oppoſite to him, [x] the Darters with their Fingers in the [y] Slings of their Darts, and the Archers with their Arrows on the String, as if they deſigned to paſs over, but not advance far into the River. At the ſame Time he ordered his own Men, when they came near enough to the Enemy to reach them with their Slings, and the heavy-armed Men [z] ſtruck their Shields with

[x] Ακοντισταὶ. The Ακόντιον, or Dart, was properly part of the Arms both of the Targeteers and light-armed Men, as the Reader will ſee, if he pleaſes to caſt his Eye on note [f], page 5, where he will alſo find that theſe were different Corps, and differently armed; ſo that *d'Ablancourt* ſhould not have comprehended under the general Name of *gens de Trait*, the Targeteers, Slingers and Archers, whom *Cheirisophus* ſent to the Relief of *Xenophon*.

[y] Διαγκυλισμάτων, &c. Διαγκυλίσθαι, τὸ ἐπιβαλεῖν τὰς δακτύλους τῇ ἀγκύλῃ τῆς ἀκοντίου. *Heſychius*. Ἀγκύλη is what the *Romans* called *Amentum*, the Thong or Sling with which they lanced their Darts.

[z] Ὅπλα ἔκροτουν. I have ſaid *when the heavy-armed Men ſtruck their Shields with their Pikes*, becauſe the Ὅπλα, or Shield

with their Pikes, to [a] ſing the Pæan, and ruſh at once upon the Enemy: And, when they were put to Flight, and the Trumpet from the River [b] ſounded a Charge, to face about to the Right, [c] and that the hindmoſt Men of every File ſhould lead the Way, and all make what Haſte they could to the River, which they were to paſs in their Ranks, that they might not hinder one another; telling them that he ſhould look upon him as the braveſt Man, who firſt reached the oppoſite Side.

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THE

Shield properly belonged to the heavy-armed Men, as may be ſeen in note [f], page 5. The light-armed Men being ἄνευ ἀσπίδος, as *Arrian* ſays there, *without a Shield*, and the Targeteers having πέλτην, a *Target* inſtead of it. This Cuſtom of ſtriking their Shields with their Pikes upon an Attack, continued among the *Greeks* in *Alexander*'s Time, as may be ſeen in *Arrian*. Arrian, Ανάβ. Αλεξ. 1 B.

[a] Παιανίσαντες. See note [i], page 88.

[b] Ο σαλπιγκτὴς σημήνη τὸ πολεμικόν. This ſeems to have deſerved the Attention of the Commentators; τὸ πολεμικὸν σημαίνειν, every body knows, ſignifies *to ſound a Charge*, as τὸ ἀναχλητικὸν σημαίνειν, *to ſound a Retreat*; why therefore ſhould *Xenophon* order a Charge to be ſounded, when his Men were to retreat? I imagine his Intention was, to make the Enemy fly the faſter, that ſo they might be at a greater Diſtance from them, when they were engaged in paſſing the River; and this ſeems to have been the Effect of it, for *Xenophon* will tell us preſently, that, when the Trumpet ſounded, the Enemy fled much faſter than before.

[c] Επὶ δόρυ. See note [t], page 263.

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THE *Cardiuchians*, ſeeing thoſe who remained, but few in Number, (for many even of thoſe who had orders to ſtay, were gone, ſome to take Care of the ſumpter Horſes, ſome of their Baggage, and others of [d] other things) came up boldly towards them, and began to uſe their Slings and Bows. But, when the *Greeks*, ſinging the Pæan, ran forward to attack them, they did not ſtand to receive them, (for though they were well enough armed for a ſudden Onſet and Retreat upon the Mountains they inhabited, yet they were not at all ſo to fight Hand to Hand.) In the mean Time the Trumpet ſounded, upon which the Enemy fled much faſter than before; and the *Greeks*, facing about, paſſed the River in all Haſte. Some of the Enemy ſeeing this, ran back to the River, and wounded a few of our Men with their Arrows; but many of them, even when the *Greeks* were on the other Side, were obſerved to continue their Flight. In the mean Time thoſe

[d] Ἑτέρων. I have followed the *Eton* Manuſcript in tranſlating this Word. *Hutchinſon* ſays it ſhould be Ἑταίρων, becauſe *Xenophon* has very lately told us, that the Soldiers had a great many *Miſtreſſes* with them; but in that Caſe it ſhould have been ἑταιρῶν, not ἑταίρων.

those who had met them in the River, carried on by their Courage, advanced unseasonably, and repassed it after *Xenophon* and his Men were on the other Side; by this Means some of them also were wounded. BOOK IV.

THE Army, having passed the River about Noon, drew up in their Ranks, and, in this manner, marched at once over the Plain of *Armenia*, intermixed with Hills of an easy Ascent, making no less than five Parasangas: For there were no Villages near the River, by Reason of the continual Wars with the *Carduchians*. However at last they came to a large Village, that had a Palace in it belonging to the [c] Satrape, and upon most of the Houses there were Turrets: Here they found Provisions in Abundance. From this Place they made, in two Days March, ten Parasangas, 'till they were advanced above the Head of the *Tigris*. From thence they made fifteen Parsangas in three Days March, and came to the River *Teleboas*. The [f] River though not large, was

[c] Τῷ Σατράπῃ. See note [c], page 5.

[f] Οὗτος δ' ἦν μέγας μὲν ἅ, καλὸς δέ. *Demetrius Phalereus* gives great Commendations to this Period: He says, that, by Demet. Phal. *of Eloquence*, Sect. 121.

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was beautiful, and had many fine Villages on its Banks: This Country was called the weſtern Part of *Armenia*. The Governor of it was *Teribazus*, who had behaved himſelf with great Fidelity to the King, and, when he was preſent, no other [g] lifted the King on Horſeback. This Perſon rode up towards the *Greeks* with a Body of Horſe, and, ſending his Interpreter, acquainted them that he deſired to ſpeak with their Commanders. Upon this the Generals thought proper to hear what he had to ſay, and, advancing within hearing, aſked him what he wanted. He anſwered that he was willing to enter into a League with them upon theſe Terms: That He ſhould not do any Injury to the *Greeks*, or they burn the Houſes, but have Liberty to take what

by the Conciſeneſs of it, and its Termination in δὲ, the Author almoſt lays before our Eyes the ſmallneſs of the River.

See note [l], *page* 224.

[g] Οὐδεὶς ἄλλῳ βασιλέα ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀνέβαλλεν. I was deſirous to excuſe *d'Ablancourt*, when, in the third Book, he made the *Perſians* ſaddle their Horſes; but don't know what to alledge in his Defence upon this Occaſion, where he has given them Stirrups as well as Saddles. I ſhall ſay no more than that *il lui tenoit l'etrier lorſqu'il montoit à cheval*, is an unfortunate Tranſlation of βασιλέα ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀνέβαλλεν. It is very well known that the Ancients, having no Stirrups, had a Perſon whom the *Greeks* called Ἀναβολεὺς, and the *Latins Strator*, to lift them on Horſeback.

what Provisions they wanted. The Generals agreed to this: so they concluded a League upon these Conditions. BOOK IV.

FROM thence they advanced through a Plain, and in three Days March made fifteen Parasangas, *Teribazus* following them with his Forces, at the Distance of about ten Stadia; when they came to a Palace surrounded with many Villages abounding in all Sorts of Provisions. While they lay encamped in this Place, there fell so great a [h] Snow in the Night, that

[h] Ἐπιπίπτει χιὼν ἄπληστος. Lest the Veracity of our Author should be suspected, when he speaks of deep Snows and excessive Frosts in *Armenia*, a Country lying between the fortieth and forty-third Degrees of Latitude, I desire it may be considered, that all Authors, both ancient and modern, agree that the Hills of this Country are covered with Snow ten months in the Year. *Tournefort*, who was an Eye-witness of it, thinks that the Earth, upon these Hills, being impregnated with Sal Ammoniac, the Cold occasioned by it, may hinder the Snow from melting; to support this, he says, that this Salt being dissolved in any Liquor, renders it excessive cold. This puts me in mind of an Experiment mentioned by *Boerhaave* as having been made by himself; he says that four Ounces of this Salt being infused in twelve of Water, generated twenty-eight Degrees of Cold; though I rather believe that the Reason why the Tops of Mountains in the warmest Climates are generally covered with Snow, while the Plains below are often parched with Heat, is, because the Atmosphere is vastly less compressed upon the Top than at the Foot of those Mountains. Whatever the Cause, the Fact is certain. When *Lucullus*, in

Tournefort, *Letter* 18. Boerhaav. *Chymistry Part* 2. Plutarch *in* Lucull. Zonaras's *Annals*, *tom.* 2. *pag.* 225. *of* Wolfius's *Edit.* *at* Basil, 1557.

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that it was resolved the next Morning the Soldiers, with their Generals, should remove into the Villages, and quarter there: for no Enemy appeared; and the great Quantity of Snow seemed a Security to them. Here they found all sorts of good Provisions; such as Cattle, Corn, old Wines exceeding fragant, Raisins and Legumens of all Kinds. In the mean Time some of the Men, who had straggled from the Camp, brought Word that they had seen an Army, and that in the Night many Fires appeared. For this Reason the Generals thought it not safe for the Troops to quarter in the Villages at a Distance from one another; so resolved to bring the Army together. Upon this they re-assembled, and it was determined to encamp abroad. While they passed the Night in this Camp, there fell so great a Quantity of Snow, that it covered both the Arms and the Men as they lay upon

in his Expedition against *Mithridates*, marched through *Armenia*, his Army suffered as much by the Frost and Snow, as the *Greeks* under *Xenophon*: And, when *Alexander Severus* returned through this Country, many of his Men lost their Hands and Feet through excessive Cold.

Tournefort, *ib.* *Tournefort* also complains, that, at *Erzeron*, though situated in a Plain, his Fingers were so benummed with Cold, he could not write 'till an Hour after Sun-rise.

upon the Ground: the ſumpter Horſes alſo were ſo benummed with the Snow, that it was with Difficulty they were made to riſe. It was a miſerable Sight to ſee the Men lie upon the Ground ſtill covered with Snow. But, when *Xenophon* was ſo hardy as to riſe naked, and rive Wood, immediately another got up, and, taking the Wood from him, cleft it himſelf. Upon this they all roſe up, and, making Fires, anointed themſelves; for they found there many Sorts of Ointments, which ſerved them inſtead of Oil, as Hogs-greaſe, Oil of Seſame, of bitter Almonds, and of Turpentine. There was alſo found a precious Ointment made of all theſe. BOOK IV.

AFTER this they determined to diſperſe themſelves again in the Villages, and quarter under Cover. Upon which the Soldiers ran with great Shouts and Pleaſure to the Houſes and Proviſions: But thoſe who had ſet Fire to the Houſes, when they left them before, were juſtly puniſhed by encamping abroad, expoſed to the Inclemency of the Weather. From hence they ſent that Night a Detachment

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ment to the Mountains, where the Straglers ſaid they had ſeen the Fires, under the Command of *Democrates* of *Temenus*, becauſe he was ever thought to give a true Account of things of this Nature, reporting Matters as they really were. At his Return he ſaid he had ſeen no Fires, but, having taken a Priſoner, he brought him with him. This Man had a [i] *Perſian* Bow and Quiver, and [k] an *Amazonian* Battle-Ax; and, being aſked of what Country he was, he ſaid he was a *Perſian*, and that he went from the Army of *Teribazus* to get Proviſions. Upon this they aſked him of what Numbers that Army conſiſted, and with what Intention it was aſſembled. He anſwered, that *Teribazus* beſides his own Army, had mercenary Troops of *Chalybians* and *Taochians*; and, that his Deſign was to attack the *Greeks* in their Paſſage over the Mountains, as they marched through the Defile, which was their only Road.

THE Generals, hearing this, reſolved to

[i] Τόξον Περσικόν. See page 217, where *Tiſſaphernes* attacks the *Greeks*.

[k] Σάγαριν. Σάγαρις. κοπὶς. ἢ πέλεκυς. *Suidas*. Where he quotes this Paſſage.

to assemble the Army, and, leaving a Guard in the Camp under the command of *Sophænetus* of *Stymphalus* they immediately set forward, taking the Prisoner with them for their Guide. After they had passed the Mountains, the *Targeteers*, who marched before the rest, as soon as they discovered the Enemy's Camp, ran to it with Shouts, without staying for the heavy-armed Men. The Barbarians, hearing the Tumult, did not stand their Ground, but fled. However, some of them were killed, and about Twenty Horses taken, as was also the Tent of *Teribazus*, in which they found Beds with Silver Feet, and drinking Cups, with some Prisoners, who said they were his Bakers and Cup-Bearers. When the Commanders of the heavy-armed Men were informed of all that passed, they determined to return in all Haste to their own Camp, lest any Attempt should be made upon those they had left there; and immediately ordering a Retreat to be sounded, they returned, and arrived there the same Day.

THE next Day they resolved to march

BOOK IV.

away with all the haſte they could, before the Enemy ſhould rally their Forces, and poſſeſs themſelves of the Paſs. Their Baggage therefore being preſently ready, they ſet forward through a deep Snow with many Guides; and, having the ſame Day paſſed the Eminence, upon which *Teribazus* deſigned to attack them, they encamped. From thence they made three Marches through a Deſert, and came to the *Euphrates* which they paſſed, the Water coming up to their Navel. It was ſaid the Sources of this River were not far off. From thence they made, in three Days March, fifteen Paraſangas over a Plain covered with a deep Snow. The laſt Day's March was very grievous, for the North Wind, blowing full in their Faces, quite parched and benummed the Men. Upon this one of the Prieſts adviſed to ſacrifice to the Wind, which was complied with, and the Vehemence of it viſibly abated. The Snow was a Fathom in Depth, inſomuch that many of the Slaves and ſumpter Horſes died, and about thirty Soldiers. They made Fires all Night, for they found Plenty of Wood in the Place where they encamp-

ed; and thoſe who came late, having no Wood, the others, who were before arrived, and had made Fires, would not allow them to warm themſelves, 'till they had given them a Share of the Wheat, or of the other Proviſions they had brought with them. By this Exchange they relieved one another's Wants. In the Places where the Fires were made, the Snow being melted, there were large Pits which reached down to the Ground; this afforded an Opportunity of meaſuring the Depth of the Snow. BOOK IV.

FROM thence they marched all the next Day through the Snow, when many of the Men contracted the [1] Bulimy. *Xenophon*, who commanded the Rear, ſeeing them lie upon the ground, knew not what

[1] Εβυλιμίασαν. The Bulimy is a Diſtemper creating exceſſive Hunger; it is thus deſcribed with all its Symptoms by *Galen*: Βύλιμός ἐστι διαθεσις, καθ' ἣν ἐπιζήτησις ἐκ μικρῶν διαλειμμάτων γίνεται τροφῆς. Ἐκλύονται δὲ καὶ καταπίπτουσι, καὶ ἀχροῦσι, καὶ καταψύχονται τὰ ἄκρα, θλίβονταί τε τὸν στόμαχον, καὶ ὁ σφυγμὸς ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἀμυδρὸς γίνεται. *The Bulimy is a Diſorder in which the Patient frequently craves for Victuals, loſes the Uſe of his Limbs, falls down, and turns pale; his Extremities become cold, his Stomach oppreſſed, and his Pulſe ſcarce ſenſible.* The *French Philoſophical Tranſactions* ſpeak of a Countryman who was violently afflicted with this Diſtemper, but was cured by voiding ſeveral Worms of the Length and Bigneſs of a Tobacco-pipe. Galen. Med. Def. vol. 2. Tranſ. Philoſ. Nº. 264. p. 598. *And* tom. 3. p. 111.

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what their Diſtemper was: But, being informed by thoſe, who were acquainted with it, that it was plainly the Bulimy, and that, if they eat any thing they would riſe again, he went to the Baggage, and, whatever Refreſhments he found there, he gave ſome to thoſe who were afflicted with this Diſtemper, and ſent Perſons able to go about, to divide the reſt among others, who were in the ſame Condition: And, as ſoon as they had eaten ſomething, they roſe up, and continued their March. During which, *Cheiriſophus* came to a Village, juſt as it was dark, and, at a Fountain, without the Walls, he found ſome Women and Girls, who belonged to it, carrying Water. Theſe enquired who they were? the Interpreter anſwered in *Perſian* that they were going to the Satrape from the King. The Women replied, that he was not there, but at a Place diſtant about a Paraſanga from thence. As it was late, they entered the Walls together with the Women, and went to the Bailiff of the Town. Here *Cheiriſophus* encamped with all that could come up. The reſt, who were unable to continue their March, paſſed

passed the Night without Victuals or Fire, by which Means some of them perished: And a Party of the Enemy following our March, took some of the sumpter Horses that could not keep Pace with the rest, and fought with one another about them. Some of the Men also, who had lost their Sight by the Snow, or whose Toes were rotted off by the Intenseness of the Cold, were left behind. The Eyes were relieved against the Snow by wearing something black before them, and the Feet against the Cold, by continual Motion, and by pulling off their Shoes in the Night. If any slept with their Shoes on, the Latchets pierced their Flesh, and their Shoes stuck to their Feet; for, when their old Shoes were worn out, they wore [m] Carbatines made of raw Hides. These Grievances therefore occasioned some of the Soldiers to be left behind; who, seeing a Piece of Ground that appeared black, because there was no Snow upon it, concluded it was

[m] Καρβατίναι. Καρβατίνη μὲν, ἀγροικῶν ὑποδημα, κληθὲν ἀπὸ Καρῶν. *Julius Pollux.* I hope I shall be excused for calling these ὑποδήματα Shoes. All the Monuments of Antiquity shew the Ancients wore a kind of Sandal instead of Shoes, but, as this is not generally understood, I have chosen the latter.

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was melted; and melted it was by a Vapour that was continually exhaling from a Fountain in a Valley near the Place. Thither they betook themſelves, and, ſitting down, refuſed to march any further. *Xenophon*, who had Charge of the Rear, as ſoon as he was informed of this, tried all Means to prevail upon them not to be left behind, telling them that the Enemy were got together in great Numbers, and followed them cloſe. At laſt he grew angry. They bid him kill them, if he would, for they were not able to go on. Upon this, he thought the beſt Thing he could do, was, if poſſible, to ſtrike a Terror into the Enemy that followed, leſt they ſhould fall upon the Men who were tired. It was now dark, and the Enemy came on with great Tumult, quarrelling with one another about their Booty. Upon this, ſuch of the Rear-guard as were well, riſing up, ruſhed upon them; while thoſe who were tired, ſhouted out as loud as they could, and ſtruck their Shields with their Pikes. The Enemy, alarmed at this, threw themſelves into the Valley through the Snow, and were no more heard of.

THEN

THEN *Xenophon*, with the reſt of the Forces, went away, aſſuring the ſick Men, that, the next Day ſome People ſhould be ſent to them: But, before they had gone four Stadia, they found others taking their Reſt in the Snow, and covered with it, no Guard being appointed. Theſe they obliged to riſe who acquainted him, that thoſe in the Head of the Army did not move forward. *Xenophon*, hearing this, went on, and ſending the ableſt of the Targeteers before, ordered them to ſee what was the Occaſion of the Stop. They brought Word that the whole Army took their Reſt in that Manner. So that *Xenophon* and his Men, after they had appointed ſuch Guards as they were able, paſſed the Night there alſo without either Fire or Victuals. When it was near Day, he ſent the youngeſt of his Men to oblige the Sick to get up and come away. In the mean Time *Cheiriſophus* ſent ſome from the Village to enquire in what Condition the Rear was. Theſe were rejoiced to ſee them, and having delivered their Sick to them to be conducted to the Camp, they marched forward: And, before they had gone

twenty

BOOK IV.

twenty Stadia, they found themſelves in the Village, where *Cheiriſophus* was quartered. When they came together, they were of Opinion that the Army might quarter in the Villages with Safety. So *Cheiriſophus* ſtaid in the Place he was in, and the reſt went to the ſeveral Villages that were allotted to them.

HERE *Polycrates*, an *Athenian*, one of the Captains, deſired he might have Leave to abſent himſelf; and, taking with him thoſe who were moſt prepared for Expedition, he made ſuch Haſte to the Village that had fallen to *Xenophon*'s Lot, that he ſurpriſed all the Inhabitants together with their Bailiff in their Houſes. He found here ſeventeen Colts, that were bred as a Tribute for the King; and alſo the Bailiff's Daughter, who had not been married above nine Days. However, her Huſband, being gone to hunt the Hare, was not taken in any of the Villages. Their Houſes were under Ground; the Mouth reſembling that of a Well, but ſpacious below: There was an Entrance dug for the Cattle, but the Inhabitants deſcended by Ladders. In theſe Houſes were

were Goats, Sheep, Cows and Fowls, with their young. All the Cattle were maintained within Doors with Fodder. BOOK IV.

There was alſo Wheat, Barley, and Legumens, and [n] Beer in Jars, in which the Malt it ſelf floated even with the Brims of the Veſſels, and with it Reeds, ſome large, and others ſmall, without Joints. Theſe, when any one was dry, he was to take into his Mouth and ſuck. The Liquor was very ſtrong, when unmixed with Water, and exceeding pleaſant to thoſe who were uſed to it.

XENO-

[n] Οἶνον κρίθινον. Literally Barley Wine. *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that *Oſiris*, that is, the *Egyptian Bacchus*, was the Inventor of Malt Liquor as a Relief to thoſe Countries, where Vines did not ſucceed, which is the Reaſon aſſigned by *Herodotus* for the *Egyptians* uſing it. This was alſo the Liquor uſed in *France*, 'till the Time of the Emperor *Probus*, when Vines were firſt planted there. *Pliny* ſays they called it *Cervoiſia*, a Word probably derived from *Cervoiſe*, which, among the ancient *Gauls*, ſignified Beer. *Julian*, who was Governor of *France*, before he was Emperor, vents his Spleen againſt Malt-Liquor, which Neceſſity, or rather Ignorance, in his Time, had made the Drink of that Country. As there is a good deal of Poetry in the Invention both of the Perſon of this unknown *Bacchus*, and of his Qualities, the Reader may not be diſpleaſed to find the Epigram here:

Diodorus Siculus, 1 *B.*

Herodot. *in* Euterp.

Pl. N. H. 22 *B.*

Τίς; πόθεν ἦ Διόνυσος; μὰ γὰρ τὸν ἀληθέα Βάκχον — Anthol. 1 *B.*
Οὐ σ' ἐπιγιγνώσκω· τὸν Διὸς οἶδα μόνον.
Κισσὸν νέκταρ ὕδωδε· σὺ δὲ τράγον· ἢ ῥά σε Κελτοὶ,
Ἢ ποίην βύτρυων, τεῦξαν ἀπ' ἀσταχίων.
Τῷ σε χρὴ καλέειν Δημήτριον ἢ Διόνυσον,
Πυρογενῆ μᾶλλον, ἢ Βρόμιον, ἢ Βρόμιον.

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XENOPHON invited the Bailiff of this Village to ſup with him, and encouraged him with this Aſſurance, that his Children ſhould not be taken from him, and that, when they went away, they would leave his Houſe full of Proviſions in Return for thoſe they took, provided he performed ſome ſignal Service to the Army, by conducting them, 'till they came to another Nation. The Bailiff promiſed to perform this, and, as an Inſtance of his Good-will, informed them where there was Wine buried. The Soldiers reſted that Night in their ſeveral Quarters in the midſt of Plenty, keeping a Guard upon the Bailiff, and having an Eye at the ſame Time upon his Children. The next Day *Xenophon*, taking the Bailiff along with him, went to *Cheiriſophus*, and, in every Village, through which he paſſed, made a Viſit to thoſe, who were quartered there; and found them every where feaſting and rejoicing. They all would force him to ſit down to Dinner with them, and he every where found the Tables covered with Lamb, Kid, Pork, Veal and Fowls; with Plenty of Bread, ſome made of Wheat, and ſome

ſome of Barley. When any one had a Mind to drink to his Friend, he took him to the Jar, where he was obliged to ſtoop, and, ſucking, drink like an Ox. The Soldiers gave the Bailiff leave to take whatever he deſired; but he took nothing, only wherever he met with any of his Relations, he carried them along with him.

WHEN they came to *Cheiriſophus* they found them alſo [o] feaſting, and crowned with Garlands made of Hay, and *Armenian* Boys, in *Barbarian* Dreſſes, waiting on them. To theſe they ſignified by Signs what they would have them do, as if they had been deaf. As ſoon as *Cheiriſophus* and *Xenophon* had embraced one another, they aſked the Bailiff, by their Interpreter who ſpoke the *Perſian* Language, what Country it was. He anſwered, *Armenia*. After that they aſked him for whom the Horſes were bred. He

[o] Σκηνῶντας. *Xenophon* uſes σκηνὴ in the ſame Senſe in Xenoph. his *Cyropædia*, where he ſays, τὴν σκηνὴν εἰς κοίτην διέλυον, *the Inſt. of they diſſolved the Feaſt to retire to reſt.* *Hutchinſon* has ſup- Cyrus,
ported this Senſe of the Word from other Paſſages out of 2 B.
our Author. Had *Leunclavius* attended to them, he would not have rendered this Paſſage, *illos etiam milites & ab Tectis reperiunt*. *D'Ablancourt* has ſaid much better, *ils trouverent tout le monde à Table*.

BOOK IV.

He ſaid for the King, as a Tribute. He added that the neighbouring Country was inhabited by the *Chalybians*, and informed them of the Road that led to it. After that *Xenophon* went away, carrying back the Bailiff to his Family, and gave him the Horſe he had taken ſome time before, which was an old one, with a Charge that he ſhould recover him for a Sacrifice, (for he had heard he was conſecrated to the Sun) being afraid that, as he was very much fatigued with the Journey, he ſhould die. At the ſame Time he took one of the young Horſes for himſelf, and gave one of them to each of the Generals and Captains. The Horſes of this Country are leſs than thoſe of *Perſia*, but have a great deal more Spirit. Upon this Occaſion the Bailiff taught us to tie Bags to the Feet of the Horſes and Beaſts of Burden, when they travelled through the Snow, for, without them, they ſunk up to their Bellies.

AFTER they had ſtaid here eight Days, *Xenophon* delivered the Bailiff to *Cheiriſophus*, to ſerve him as a Guide, and left him all his Family, except his Son,

a

a Youth juſt in the Flower of his Age. This Youth he committed to the Charge of *Epiſthenis* of *Amphipolis*, with a Deſign to ſend him back with his Father, if he conducted them in a proper Manner. At the ſame Time they carried as many Things as they could into his Houſe, and, decamping, marched away. The Bailiff conducted them through the Snow unbound. They had now marched three Days, when *Cheiriſophus* grew angry with him for not carrying them to ſome Villages. The Bailiff ſaid there were none in that Part of the Country. Upon this *Cheiriſophus* ſtruck him, but did not order him to be bound: So that he made his Eſcape in the Night, leaving his Son behind him. This ill Treatment and Neglect of the Bailiff was the Cauſe of the only Difference, that happened between *Cheiriſophus* and *Xenophon* during their whole March. *Epiſthenis* took an Affection to the Youth, and, carrying him into *Greece*, found great Fidelity in him. BOOK IV.

AFTER this they made ſeven Marches at the Rate of five Paraſangas each Day, and

BOOK IV. and arrived at the River [p] *Phaſis*, which is about one hundred Feet in Breadth. From thence they made, in two Marches, ten Paraſangas; when they found the *Chalybians*, *Taochians*, and *Phaſians* poſted upon the Paſſage that led over the Mountains to the Plain. As ſoon as *Cheiriſophus* ſaw the Enemy in Poſſeſſion of that Poſt, he halted at the Diſtance of about thirty Stadia, that he might not approach them while the Army marched in a Column: For which Reaſon he [q] ordered the Captains to bring up their Companies to the Front, that the Army might be drawn up in a Line.

WHEN the Rear-Guard came up, he call-

[p] Παρὰ τὸν Φάσιν ποταμόν. It muſt be obſerved that this is not the River *Phaſis*, which falls into the *Euxine* Sea, and to which Sportſmen are obliged for the Breed of Pheaſants. *Deliſle* is of opinion that the *Phaſis* here mentioned is the *Araxes*, which falls into the *Caſpian* Sea, the ſame, whoſe impetuous Courſe is ſo boldly deſcribed by *Virgil*,

Deliſle.

Virgil Æneid. 8 *B.*

——— *Pontem indignatus Araxes.*

[q] Παρήγγειλε δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις παράγειν τὰς λόχας, ὅπως ἐπὶ φάλαγγος γένοιτο τὸ στράτευμα. The Tranſlators do not ſeem to have attended to the Force of the word παράγειν in this Place; it is a military Term, and ſignifies to bring up the Files to the Front, and march in a Line, in which Diſpoſition *Cheiriſophus* propoſed to attack upon this occaſion: This is called παραγωγὴ by *Arrian* the reverſe of which is ἐπαγωγή, as ἐπίστάτης is of παραστάτης.

Arrian *in his* Tactics.

called the Generals and Captains together, and ſpoke to them in this Manner. BOOK IV.

" *The Enemy, you ſee are Maſters of the Paſs over the Mountain. We are therefore now to conſider in what manner we may charge them with the greateſt Advantage. It is my Opinion that while the Soldiers get their Dinner, we ſhould conſult among ourſelves, whether it will be moſt proper to attempt the Paſſage to-day, or ſtay 'till to-morrow.*"

" *My Advice is, ſays* Cleanor, *that, as ſoon as we have dined, we ſhould take our Arms, and attack the Enemy; for, if we defer it 'till to-morrow, this Delay will inſpire thoſe who obſerve us with Confidence, and their Confidence, will, in all Probability, draw others to their Aſſiſtance.*

AFTER him *Xenophon* ſaid, " *This is my Senſe of the Matter. If we are obliged to fight, we ought to prepare our ſelves to fight with all poſſible Bravery: But, if we propoſe to paſs the Mountain in the eaſieſt manner, we are to conſider by what means we may receive the feweſt Wounds, and loſe the feweſt Men. The Mountain that lies before us, reaches above ſixty Stadia in Length, and, in all this Extent, no Guard appears to be*

BOOK IV.

be poſted any where, but only in this Part. For which Reaſon I ſhould think it more for our Advantage to endeavour to ſurprize ſome unguarded Place upon the Mountain, and, if poſſible, prevent their ſeizing it, than to attack a Poſt already fortified, and Men prepared to reſiſt: For it is eaſier to climb a ſteep Aſcent, without fighting, than to march upon plain Ground, when the Enemy are poſted on both Sides of us. We can alſo better ſee what lies before us in the Night, when we are not obliged to fight, than in the Day-time, when we are: And the roughest Way is eaſier to thoſe who march without fighting, than an even Way, to thoſe whoſe Heads are expoſed to the Darts of an Enemy. Neither do I think it impoſſible for us to ſteal ſuch a March, ſince we may have the Advantage of the Night to conceal us, and may take ſo great a Circuit as not to be diſcovered. I am alſo of Opinion, that, if we make a falſe Attack upon the Poſt which is poſſeſſed by the Enemy, we ſhall, by that means, find the reſt of the Mountain more unguarded: For this will oblige them to keep all their Forces in a Body. But why do I mention Stealing? 'Since I am informed, O Cheirifophus!

' Τμοὶ γὰρ ἔγωγε, ὦ Χειρίσοφε, ἀκήκοα τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ὅστις ἦν τῶν ὁμοίων, ἱκανὸς ἐκ παίδων κλέπτειν μελετᾶν.

sophus! *that among you* Lacedæmonians, *those of the first Rank practise it from their Childhood, and that, instead of being a Dishonour, it is your Duty to steal those Things which the Law has not forbidden: And to the End you may learn to steal with the greatest Dexterity and Secrecy imaginable, your Laws have provided that those who are taken in a Theft, shall be whipped.*" *This is the Time therefore for you to shew how far your Education has improved you, and to take Care that, in stealing this March, we are not discovered, lest we smart severely for it.*" BOOK IV.

CHEIRISOPHUS answered, "*I am also informed, that you Athenians are very expert in stealing the public Money, notwithstanding the great Danger you are exposed to, and that your best Men are the most expert at it, that is, if you chuse your best Men for your Magistrates. So that this is a proper Time for you also to shew the Effects of your Education.*" *I am ready, replies* Xenophon, *to march with the Rear-Guard, as soon as we*

Those who among the *Lacedæmonians* were called ὅμοιοι, and among the *Persians* ὁμότιμοι, by the *Greeks*, under which Name *Xenophon* often speaks of them in his Institution of *Cyrus*, agree very well with what the *Gothick* Government calls *Peers*, with us, and with the *French*, *Pairs*; *Persons of equal Dignity*.

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we have ſupped, in order to poſſeſs myſelf of the Mountain. I have Guides with me: for our light-armed Men have, in an Ambuſcade, taken ſome of the Marauders, that follow the Army. By theſe I am informed that the Mountain is not inacceſſible, but that Goats and Oxen graze upon it, ſo that, if we are once Maſters of any Part of it, it will be acceſſible alſo to our Jumpter Horſes. Neither do I believe the Enemy will keep their Poſt, when they ſee we are Maſters of the Summit, and upon an Equality with themſelves; becauſe they are now unwilling to come down to us upon equal Ground." But *Cheiriſophus* ſaid, "*Why ſhould you go, and leave the Charge of the Rear? Rather ſend others, unleſs any offer themſelves to this Service.*" Upon this *Ariſtonymus* of *Methydria* preſented himſelf with his heavy-armed Men, and *Ariſtus* of *Chius*, and *Nicomachus* of *Oete*, both with their light-armed. And it was agreed that, when they had poſſeſſed themſelves of the Summit, they ſhould light ſeveral Fires. When theſe Things were ſettled, they went to Dinner, after which *Cheiriſophus* led the whole Army within ten Stadia of the Enemy, as if he had abſolutely reſolved to march that Way.

SUP-

SUPPER being ended, and Night coming on, thoſe who had Orders marched away, and made themſelves Maſters of the Top of the Mountain. The others went to Reſt where they were. The Enemy, finding our Men were poſſeſſed of that Poſt, remained under Arms, and made many Fires all Night. As ſoon as it was Day, *Cheiriſophus*, after he had offered Sacrifice, led his Forces up the Road, while thoſe who had gained the Summit attacked the Enemy; great Part of whom ſtaid to defend the Paſs, and the reſt advanced againſt thoſe who were Maſters of the Eminence. But, before *Cheiriſophus* could come up to the Enemy, thoſe upon the Summit were engaged; where our Men had the Advantage, and drove the Enemy before them. In the mean Time the *Greek* Targeteers ran on from the Plain to attack thoſe who were ready drawn up to receive them, and *Cheiriſophus*, at the Head of the heavy-armed Men, followed as faſt as was conſiſtent with a regular March. However the Enemy that were poſted in the Paſs, when they ſaw thoſe above give way, fled alſo. When great Numbers of them

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were ſlain, and many of their Bucklers taken, which the *Greeks*, by cutting them to Pieces, rendered uſeleſs. As ſoon as they had gained the Aſcent, they offered Sacrifice, and having erected a Trophy, marched down into the Plain, where they found Villages well ſtored with all Sorts of Proviſions.

FROM hence they came to the Country of the *Taochians*, making in five Marches, thirty Paraſangas; and here their Proviſions began to fail them: For the *Taochians* inhabited Faſtneſſes, into which they had conveyed all their Proviſions. At laſt the Army arrived at a ſtrong Place, which had neither City, nor Houſes upon it, but where great Numbers of Men and Women with their Cattle were aſſembled. This Place *Cheiriſophus* ordered to be attacked the Moment he came before it, and, when the firſt Company ſuffered, another went up, and then another; for the Place being ſurrounded with Precipices, they could not attack it on all Sides at once. When *Xenophon* came up with the Rear-Guard, the Targeteers and heavy-armed Men, *Cheiriſophus*

phus said to him, "*You come very seasonably, for this Place must be taken, otherwise the Army will be starved.*" BOOK IV.

UPON this they called a Council of War, and *Xenophon* demanding, what could hinder them from carrying the Place; *Cheirisophus* answered, "*there is no other Access to it but This, and, when any of our Men attempt to gain it, they roll down Stones from the impending Rock, and those they light upon are treated as you see;*" pointing at the same time to some of the Men, whose Legs and Ribs were broken. "*But, says* Xenophon, *when they have consumed all the Stones they have, what can hinder us then from going up? For I can see nothing to oppose us, but a few Men, and of these not above two or three that are armed. The Space, you see, through which we must pass exposed to these Stones, is about one hundred and fifty Feet in Length, of which that of one hundred Feet is covered with large*

[a] Δασὺ πίτυσι διαλίπυσαις μιγάλαις. The Explication of διαλίπυσαι brought by *Hutchinson* out of *Suidas* and *Phavorinus*, ἀλλήλων ἀπέχυσαι, does not, in my Opinion, give the Author's Sense of it in this Place; nobody doubts but these Pines grew *at some Distance from one another*; but *Xenophon* means that they grew in Groups, and then

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large Pines, growing in Groups, againſt which, if our Men place themſelves, what can they ſuffer, either from the Stones that are thrown, or rolled down by the Enemy? The remaining Part of this Space is not above fifty Feet, which, when the Stones ceaſe, we muſt diſpatch with all poſſible Expedition. But, ſays Cheiriſophus, *the Moment we offer to go to the Place that is covered with the Trees, they will ſhower down Stones upon us. That, replies* Xenophon, *is the very Thing we want, for by this Means they will be conſumed the ſooner. However, continues he, let us, if we can, advance to that Place, from whence we may have but a little Way to run, and from whence we may alſo, if we ſee convenient, retreat with Eaſe."*

UPON this, *Cheiriſophus* and *Xenophon*, with *Callimachus* of *Parrhaſie*, one of the Captains, advanced, (for the laſt had the Command that Day of the Captains in the Rear) all the reſt of the Officers ſtanding out of Danger. Then about ſeventy

then διαλείπουσαι will have the ſame Senſe with διατεταχθαι in the ſecond Book, where he ſpeaks of the *Rhodians* being diſpoſed in Platoons, for Groups in Planting and Painting are the ſame Thing with Platoons in Tactics. *D'Ablancourt* has artfully avoided the Difficulty by ſaying generally *jettes de grands Pins*.

ſeventy of the Men advanced under the Trees, not in a Body, but one by one, each ſheltering himſelf as well as he could: While *Agaſias* the *Stymphalian* and *Ariſtonymus* of *Methydria*, who were alſo Captains belonging to the Rear, with ſome others, ſtood behind, without the Trees, for it was not ſafe for more than one Company to be there. Upon this Occaſion *Callimachus* made Uſe of the following Stratagem. He advanced two or three Paces from the Tree under which he ſtood; but, as ſoon as the Stones began to fly, he quickly retired, and, upon every Excurſion, more than ten Cart-Loads of Stones were conſumed. When *Agaſias* ſaw what *Callimachus* was doing, and that the Eyes of the whole Army were upon him, fearing leſt he ſhould be the firſt Man who entered the Place, he, without giving any Notice to *Ariſtonymus*, who ſtood next to him, or to *Eurylochus* of *Luſia*, both of whom were his Friends, or to any other Perſon, advanced alone, with a Deſign to get before the reſt. When *Callimachus* ſaw him paſſing by, he laid hold on the [1] Border of his Shield.

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In

[1] Επιλαμβάνεται αὐτῆ τῆς ἴτυος. I am ſurprized to find ἴτυς rendered both by *Leunclavius* and *Hutchinſon*,

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In the mean Time *Ariſtonymus*, and, after him, *Eurylochus* ran by them both: For all theſe were Rivals in Glory, and in a conſtant Emulation of each other. And, by contending thus, they took the Place: For, the Moment one of them had gained the Aſcent, there were no more Stones thrown from above.

AND here followed a dreadful Spectacle in-

umbo, when *Suidas* has explained it ſo particularly by περιφέρεια ὅπλου, and, to ſupport that Explanation has quoted this very Paſſage of *Xenophon* now before us; and, for fear this Authority ſhould not be thought ſufficient to eſtabliſh this Senſe of the Word, the ſame Author quotes Part of an Inſcription on the Shield of *Alexander* of *Phyllos*, where ἴτυς is very particularly diſtinguiſhed from ὀμφαλὸς which is properly *umbo*.

Γηραλέα μὲν ἴτυν πολέμων ὕπο, γηραλέα δὲ
Ομφαλον. ————————

D'Ablancourt has evaded this Difficulty alſo, by tranſlating it generally, *le prit en paſſant par ſon bouclier*. ἴτυς therefore is what *Homer* calls ἄντυξ πυμάτη, where the Ocean flowed in the divine Shield which *Vulcan* made for *Achilles*,

Homer Il. Σ.

Εν δ' ἐτίθει ποταμοῖο μέγα σθένος Ωκεανοῖο
Αντυγα παρ πυματην σάκεος πύκα ποιητοῖο.

Which Mr. *Pope* has tranſlated with his uſual Elegance and Exactneſs,

In living Silver ſeem'd the Waves to roll,
And beat the Buckler's Verge, *and bound the Whole.*

The *Latin* Tranſlators therefore ought to have rendered it *ora*, as *Virgil* has in that Verſe, where he ſpeaks of the Javelin thrown by *Pallas* at *Turnus*,

Virgil Æneid. 10 *B.*

———— *Viam clypei molita per* oras.
Tandem etiam magno ſtrinxit de corpore Turni

indeed; for the Women first threw their Children down the Precipice, and then themselves. The Men did the same. And here *Æneas* the *Stymphalian*, a Captain, seeing one of the *Barbarians*, who was richly dressed, running with a Design to throw himself down, caught hold of him, and the other drawing him after, they both fell down the Precipice together, and were dashed to Pieces. Thus we made very few Prisoners, but took a considerable Quantity of Oxen, Asses, and Sheep. BOOK IV.

FROM thence the *Greeks* advanced, through the Country of the [u] *Chalybians*, and, in seven Marches, made fifty Parasangas. These being the most valiant People they met with in all their March, they came to a close Engagement with the *Greeks*. They had linen Corslets that reached below [x] their Navel, and, in-

[u] Διὰ Χαλύβων. 'Tis difficult to say what Nation these were; I am sensible *Diodorus Siculus* calls them *Chalcidians*, but we are much in the dark as to them. The Reader will however observe, that these *Chalybians* were a different People from those he will find mentioned by our Author in the next Book. Diod. Sic. 14 B.

[x] Μέχρι τῦ ἤτρυ. Τὸ μέντοι ὑπὸ τὸν ὀμφαλὸν πᾶν, ἄχρι τῶν ὑπὲρ αἰδοῖα τριχώσεων, ἤτρόν τε καὶ ὑπογάστριον. *Julius's B. Pollux.*

BOOK IV. [y] inſtead of Taſſels, thick Cords twiſted. They had alſo Greaves and Helmets, and at their Girdle [z] a ſhort Faulchon, like thoſe of the *Lacedæmonians*, with which they cut the Throats of thoſe they overpowered, and afterwards, cutting off their Heads, carried them away in Triumph. It was their Cuſtom to ſing and dance, whenever they thought the Enemy ſaw them. They had Pikes fifteen Cubits in length, [a] with only one Point. They ſtaid in their Cities 'till the *Greeks* marched paſt them, and then followed haraſſing them perpetually. After that they retired

[y] Ἀντὶ τῶν πτερυγίων. Theſe Taſſels with which the Skirts of ancient Armour were adorned, are, by our Author, in his Treatiſe of Horſemanſhip, called πτέρυγες, which he ſays ſhould be ſo *large, and in ſo great Quantity, as to hide the lower Part of the Belly and Thighs of the Horſeman*, περὶ δὲ τὸ ἦτρον καὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα καὶ τὰ κόλα αἱ πτέρυγες τοιαῦται καὶ τοσαῦται ἔστωσαν, ὥστε σκέπειν τὰ μέλη.

[z] Ξυήλην. Ξυήλη· ξιφίδιον, ὅ τινες δρέπανον λέγουσι. *Heſychius.*

[a] Μίαν λόγχην ἴσχον. This ſeems to have deſerved ſome Attention from the Tranſlators. What *Xenophon* calls λόγχη here, *Julius Pollux*, ſpeaking of the different Parts of a Spear, calls αἰχμή. The ſharp Iron at the other End, with which they fixed their Pikes in the Ground, the ſame Author calls σαυρωτὴρ after *Homer*, who deſcribes the Pikes of *Diomede* and his Companions in that Poſture,

1 *B. Seg.* 136.

Homer Il. K.

——— ἴγχεα δέ σφιν
Ὀρθ' ἐπὶ σαυρωτῆρος ἑλήλατο. ———

I imagine the Pikes of the *Chalybians* had not this lower Iron.

ed to their ſtrong Holds, into which they had conveyed their Proviſions: So that the *Greeks* could ſupply themſelves with nothing out of their Country, but lived upon the Cattle they had taken from the *Taochians*. BOOK IV.

THEY now came to the River *Harpaſus*, which was four hundred Feet broad. And from thence advanced through the Country of the *Scythinians*, and, in four Days March, made twenty Paraſangas, paſſing through a Plain into ſome Villages; in which they ſtaid three Days, and made their Proviſions. From this Place they made, in four Days March, twenty Paraſangas, to a large and rich City well inhabited: It was called *Gymnias*. The Governor of this Country ſent a Perſon to the *Greeks*, to conduct them through the Territories of his Enemies. This Guide, coming to the Army, ſaid he would undertake, [b] in five Days, to

[b] Οθεν πέντε ἡμερῶν ὄψονται θάλατταν. I don't know whether the *Latin* Tranſlators have rendered this Paſſage with Perſpicuity enough; they have ſaid *a quo & unde dierum quinque ſpatio mare conſpecturi eſſent*. Of which this ſeems to be the Senſe, that the Guide ſaid he would carry them to a Place, from whence they ſhould ſee the Sea in

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to carry them to a Place, from whence they ſhould ſee the Sea. If not, he conſented to be put to death. And, when he had conducted them into the Territories belonging to his Enemies, he deſired them to lay waſte the Country with Fire and Sword. By which it was evident that he came with this View, and not from any Good-will he bore to the *Greeks*. The fifth Day they arrived at the holy Mountain called *Theches*. As ſoon as the Men, who were in the Vanguard, aſcended the Mountain, and ſaw the Sea, they gave a great Shout, which, when *Xenophon* and thoſe in the Rear, heard, they concluded that ſome other Enemies attacked them in Front, for the People belonging to the Country they had burned, followed their Rear, ſome of whom thoſe who had Charge of it, had killed, and taken others Priſoners in an Ambuſcade. They had alſo taken twenty Buck-

five Days after they arrived there; but this is not the Senſe of our Author, for it is obvious from what follows, that the five Days were to be counted from the Time he began to conduct them, not from the Time they arrived at the Place to which he was to conduct them: Accordingly we find that in five Days he led them to the Mountain, from which they ſaw the Sea. *D'Ablancourt* has ſaid much better, *il promit de montrer la Mer aux Soldats dans cinq jours*.

Bucklers made of raw Ox-hides with the Hair on. BOOK IV.

THE Noiſe ſtill increaſing as they came nearer, and the Men, as faſt as they came up, running to thoſe who ſtill continued Shouting, their Cries ſwelled with their Numbers, ſo that *Xenophon*, thinking ſomething more than ordinary had happened, mounted on Horſe-back, and, taking with him *Lycius* and his Horſe, rode up to their Aſſiſtance: And preſently they heard the Soldiers calling out SEA! SEA! and chearing one another. At this they all ſet a running, the Rear-guard as well as the reſt, and the Beaſts of Burden, and Horſes were driven forward. When they were all come up to the Top of the Mountain, they embraced one another, and alſo their Generals and Captains with Tears in their Eyes. And immediately the Men, by whoſe Order it is not known, bringing together a great many Stones, made a large Mount, upon which they placed a great Quantity of Shields made of raw Ox-hides, Staves, and Bucklers taken from the Enemy. The Guide himſelf cut the Bucklers in

Pieces,

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Pieces, and exhorted the reſt to do the ſame. After this the *Greeks* ſent back their Guide, giving him Preſents out of the public Stock, theſe were a Horſe, a ſilver Cup, a *Perſian* Dreſs, and [c] ten Daricks. But, above all Things the Guide deſired the Soldiers to give him ſome of their Rings, many of which they gave him. Having therefore ſhewn them a Village, where they were to Quarter, and the Road that led to the *Macronians*, when the Evening came on, he departed, ſetting out on his Return that Night. From thence the *Greeks*, in three Days March, made ten Paraſangas, through the Country of the *Macronians*. During their firſt Day's March, they came to a River, which divides the Territories of the *Macronians* from thoſe of the *Scythians*. The *Greeks* had on their Right an Eminence of very difficult Acceſs, and on their Left another River, into which the River that ſerved for a Boundary between the two Nations, and which the *Greeks* were to paſs, emptied itſelf. The Banks of this River were covered with Trees, which were not large, but grew cloſe

[c] Δαρεικὸς δίκα, See note [m], page 9.

close to one another. These the *Greeks* immediately cut down, being in Haste to get out of the Place. The *Macronians* were drawn up on the opposite Side to obstruct their Passage. They are armed with Bucklers and Spears, and wore Vests made of Hair. They animated one another, and threw Stones into the River; but, as they did not reach our Men, they could do us no Damage. BOOK IV.

UPON this, one of the Targeteers coming to *Xenophon*, said, he had formerly been a Slave at *Athens*; that he understood the Language of these People; "*and, says he, if I am not mistaken, this is my own Country, and, if there is no Objection, I will speak to the People.*" *Xenophon* answered, "*there is none; so speak to them, says he, and first enquire what People they are.*" He did so, and they answered they were *Macronians*. "*Ask them therefore, says* Xenophon, *why they are drawn up against us, and seek to be our Enemies?*" To which they answered, "*because you invade our Country.*" The Generals then ordered him to let them know it was not with a View of doing them any Injury, "*but that,*

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that, having made War againſt the King, we were returning to Greece, *and deſirous to arrive at the Sea.*" The *Macronians* aſked "*whether they were willing to give Aſſurance of this.*" The *Greeks* anſwered that they were willing both to give and take it. Upon this the *Macronians* gave the *Greeks* a *Barbarian* Spear, and the *Greeks* gave them one of theirs; for this, they ſaid, was their Method of pledging their Faith: And both Parties called upon the Gods to be Witneſſes to their Treaty.

WHEN this Ceremony was over, the *Macronians* came in a friendly manner among the *Greeks*, and aſſiſted them in cutting down the Trees in order to prepare the Way for their Paſſage. They alſo ſupplyed them with a Market in the beſt Manner they were able, and conducted them through their Country during three Days, 'till they brought them to the Mountains of the [d] *Colchians*. One of

[d] Τῶν Κόλχων. We have been a long Time following *Xenophon* through Countries, the greateſt Part of whoſe Inhabitants are ſcarce known but by his Hiſtory. We are now beginning to tread upon Claſſical Ground, where almoſt every Mountain, every River, and every

of these was very large, but not inaccessible. And, upon this, the *Colchians* stood in Order of Battle: The *Greeks*, at first, drew up their Army in a Line, with a Design to march up the Mountain in this Disposition; afterwards, the Generals, being assembled, thought proper to deliberate in what Manner they should engage the Enemy with most Advantage; when *Xenophon* said it was his Opinion they

City is rendered famous by the Actions of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, but more so by their Writings. The *Colchians* are immortalized by the *Argonautick* Expedition, but their Origin is not so generally known: *Dionysius Periegetes*, after *Herodotus*, makes them a Colony of the *Egyptians*,

Πὰρ δὲ μυχὸν Πόντοιο, μετὰ χθόνα Τυνδαριδάων
Κόλχοι ναιεταασι, μετηλυδες Αἰγυπτοιο,
Καυκασιε ἐγγὺς ἑόντες. ———

Herodotus says they were either settled there by *Sesostris*, or, being unwilling to follow him any further, remained there. This he supports by several Arguments, as that they were Blacks, and had curled Hair, but chiefly because the *Colchians*, the *Egyptians*, and *Ethiopians* were the only People in the World that originally used Circumcision; the *Phœnicians* and *Syrians* in *Palestine*, themselves acknowledging that they learned it from the *Egyptians*: *Herodotus* adds, that the *Egyptians*, and *Colchians* agreed also in their Way of living, and spoke the same Language: If, by the *Syrians* in *Palestine*, he means the *Jews*, as it is very probable, his Opinion opens so large a Field for Argument, that, to treat it cursorily, would not be doing Justice to a Subject of so much Consequence, and, to go the whole Length of it, would be not only invading the Province of Gentlemen much more capable of discussing it, than myself, but would also swell this Annotation much beyond its due Length.

Herodot. *in* Euterp.

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they ought to change the Diſpoſition, and, dividing the heavy-armed Men into Companies of a hundred Men each, to throw every Company into a ſeparate Column; "*for, ſays he, the Mountain, being, in ſome Places, inacceſſible, and, in others, of eaſy Aſcent,* [e] *the Line will preſently be broken, and this will, at once, diſhearten the Men; beſides, if we advance with many Men in File, the Enemy's Line will out-reach ours, and they may apply that Part of it, which out-reaches us, to what Service they think proper; and if with few, we ought not to wonder, if they break through our Line, wherever their Numbers and Weapons unite to*

[e] Ἡ μὲν γὰρ φάλαγξ διασπάσθήσεται εὐθύς. The Reaſons given here by *Xenophon* for attacking this Mountain in Columns, rather than in a Line, being the ſame with thoſe alledged by *Polybius*, in his Diſſertation upon the *Macedonian Phalanx*, for the Advantages which the *Roman* Legions had over it, I thought the *Engliſh* Reader would not be diſpleaſed with a Tranſlation of this Diſſertation, wherein we find a much more particular Deſcription of the *Macedonian Phalanx*, and of all its Operations, than is to be met with in any other Author, particularly, ſince the 17th Book of *Polybius*, in which this Diſſertation is, not being entire, has not, that I know of, been tranſlated into our Language. From the Reaſoning both of *Xenophon*, and *Polybius*, it may be gathered that *Philip*, the Son of *Amyntas*, and Father to *Alexander* the Great, who

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we find, by *Diodorus Siculus*, inſtituted the *Macedonian Phalanx*, did not improve the *Greek* Diſcipline by that Inſtitution. As this Diſſertation of *Polybius* is of too great a Length to come in among the Notes, I have given it a Place at the End of this Book.

to make an Impreſſion; and, if this happens in any Part, the whole Line muſt ſuffer. To avoid therefore theſe Inconveniences, I think the ſeveral Companies, being thus drawn up in ſeparate Columns, ought to march at ſo great a Diſtance from one another, that the laſt on each Side may reach beyond the Enemy's Wings; by this Means, not only our laſt Companies will out-reach their Line, but, as we make our Attack in Columns, the braveſt of our Men will charge firſt; and let every Company aſcend the Mountain in that Part, where it is of eaſy Acceſs; neither will it be an eaſy Matter for the Enemy to fall into the Intervals, when the Companies are placed on each Side, or to break through them, when they advance in Columns: And, if any of the Companies ſuffer, the next will relieve them, and, if any one of them can, by any Means, gain the Summit, the Enemy will no longer ſtand their Ground." This was reſolved on, ſo they divided the heavy-armed Men into Companies, and threw every Company into a ſeparate Column; then *Xenophon*, going from the Right of the Army to the Left, ſpoke thus to the Soldiers; "*Gentlemen! the Enemy, you ſee before you, are now the only remaining Obſtacle, that*

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hinders us from being already in the Place, whither we are, long ſince, haſtening. Theſe, if we can, we ought even to eat alive."

WHEN every Man ſtood in his Place, and all the Companies were drawn up in Columns, they amounted to about eighty Companies of heavy-armed, each of which conſiſted of near a hundred Men; the Targeteers, and Archers, they divided into three Bodies of near ſix hundred Men each, one of which they placed beyond the left Wing, another beyond the Right, and the third in the Center. Then the Generals ordered the Soldiers to make their Vows to the Gods, and, after they had made them, and ſung the Pæan, they marched: *Cheiriſophus*, and *Xenophon* advanced at the Head of thoſe Targeteers, who were beyond the Enemy's Line; theſe, ſeeing them coming up, moved forward to receive them, and ſome filed off to the Right, and others to the Left, leaving a great Void in the Center: When the *Arcadian* Targeteers, who were commanded by *Æſchines*, the *Acarnanian*, ſaw them divide, they ran forward in all Haſte, thinking they fled, and

theſe were the firſt who gained the Summit. They were followed by the *Arcadian* heavy-armed Men, commanded by *Cleanor*, the *Orchomenian*. The Enemy, when once they began to give Ground, never ſtood after, but fled ſome one Way, and ſome another. After the *Greeks* had gained the Aſcent, they encamped in many Villages full of all ſorts of Proviſions. Here they found nothing elſe worthy of their Admiration, but, there being great Quantities of [f] Bee-hives in thoſe Villages, all the Soldiers, who eat of the Honey-Combs, loſt their Senſes, and were ſeized with a Vomiting and Purging, none of them being able to ſtand upon their Legs. Thoſe who eat but

[f] Τὰ δὲ σμήνη. The Accident, here mentioned by *Xenophon*, is accounted for by *Pliny*, and further explained by *Tournefort*: The firſt ſays there is a Kind of Honey, found in this Country, called from its Effect, *Maenomenon*; that is, that thoſe who eat of it are ſeized with *Madneſs*: He adds, that the common Opinion is that this Honey is gathered from the Flowers of a Plant, called *Rhododendros*, which is very common in thoſe Parts. *Tournefort*, when he was in that Country, ſaw there two Plants, which he calls *Chamaerhododendros*, the firſt with Leaves like the Medlar, and yellow Flowers; the other with Leaves like the *Laurocerafus*, and purple Flowers; this, he ſays, is probably the *Rhododendros* of *Pliny*, becauſe the People of the Country look upon the Honey, that is gathered from its Flowers, to produce the Effects deſcribed by *Xenophon*.

Pl. N. H. 21 *B.c.* 13.

Tournefort, 17 *Letter*.

BOOK IV.

but little, [g] were like Men very drunk, and thoſe, who eat much, like Mad-men, and ſome like dying Perſons. In this Condition great Numbers lay upon the Ground, as if there had been a Defeat, and the Sorrow was general: The next Day, none of them died, but recovered their Senſes, about the ſame Hour they were ſeized, and the third, and fourth Day, they got up as if they had taken Phyſic.

FROM thence they made, in two Days March, ſeven Paraſangas, and arrived at the Sea, and [h] at *Trebiſond*, a *Greek* City, well inhabited, and ſituated upon the *Euxine* Sea; it is a Colony of the *Sinopians*,

[g] Σφόδρα μεθύουσιν ἐώικεσαν. *Reſſembloient à des yvrognes*, ſays *d'Ablancourt*. Methinks he ſhould have rather ſaid *à des gens yvres*, for, I believe, it will be allowed, that, in his Language, *un yvrogne* ſignifies, an *habitual Drinker*, and *un homme yvre*, *a Man who is actually drunk*.

[h] Εἰς Τραπεζοῦντα. As this was a *Greek* City, the *Greeks* found themſelves here in Safety, after their long and glorious March. The Port, which is on the Eaſt of the Town, was built by the Emperor *Adrian*, as we find by *Arrian*, who, in his *Periplus* of the *Euxine* Sea, which he dedicates to that Emperor, ſays, *that he was making a Port there, for, before, there was no more than a Station, where Ships could only ride at Anchor, with Safety, in the Summer-time.* ἐνταῦθα οὐ πολλῆς λιμένα· πάλαι γὰρ ὅσον ἀποσαλεύειν ὥρᾳ ἔτυς, ὅρμος ἦν. *Tournefort* ſays this Port is now called *Platana*, and is much neglected by the *Turks*.

Arrian Periplus.

Tournefort, 17 *Letter.*

pians, but lies in the Country of the *Colchians*. Here they ſtaid about thirty Days, encamping in the Villages of the *Colchians*, and, from thence, made Excurſions into their Country, and plundered it: The Inhabitants of *Trebiſond* ſupplied them with a Market in their Camp, and received the *Greeks* with great Hoſpitality, making them preſents of Oxen, Barley-Meal, and Wine: They alſo concluded a Treaty with them in Favour of the neighbouring *Colchians*, the greateſt Part of whom inhabit the Plain, and from theſe alſo the *Greeks* received more Oxen, as a Mark of their Hoſpitality. After this, they prepared the Sacrifice they had vowed. They had received Oxen enough to offer to *Jupiter* the Preſerver, and to *Hercules*, in Return for their having conducted them with Safety, and alſo to the other Gods what they had vowed. They alſo celebrated a *Gymnick* Game upon the Mountain, where they encamped, and choſe *Dracontius* of *Sparta* (who, having involuntarily killed a Boy with his Faulchon, fled from his Country, when he was a Child) to take Care of the Courſe, and preſide at the Game.

WHEN

BOOK IV.

WHEN the Sacrifice was over, they delivered the Hides of the Victims to *Dracontius*, and desired he would lead them to the Place, where he had prepared the Course. This Hill, says he, pointing to the Place where they stood, is the properest Place for running, let them take which Way they will. But, said they, how is it possible for them to wrestle in so uneven, and so bushy a Place? He that is thrown, replied he, will feel the greater Anguish. [i] The Course was run by Boys, the greatest Part of whom were Prisoners, and the long Course by above sixty *Cretans*. Others contended in Wrestling, Boxing, and the Pancratium. All which

[i] Στάδιον, Δόλιχον, Πάλην, Πύγμην, Παγκράτιον. The five Games, so much celebrated in *Greece*, are contained in the following Pentameter Verse,

Αλμα, ποδωκείην, δίσκου, ἄκοντα, πάλην.

Leaping, running, throwing of the Disk, and of Darts, and Wrestling. The first is not here taken notice of; under the second is comprehended σταδιον and δόλιχος, the former being a Course of six hundred Feet, τὸ στάδιον ἔχει ποδας χ'. *Suidas.* And the latter containing twenty-four Stadia. ἔστι δὲ ὁ δόλιχος κδ' στάδια. *Id.* It is possible that πάλη may, in that Verse, be taken for ἀνακλινοπάλη, that is, that both Boxing and Wrestling might be comprehended under the Word πάλη, which, in that Case, will be the same with παγκράτιον, since this consisted both of Boxing, and Wrestling, παγκρατιαστάῖς· ἀθληταῖς πύκταις, οἱ ταῖς χερσὶ καὶ τοῖς ποσὶ πυκτομαχῶσι. *Suidas.* However we find them distinguished by *Xenophon* upon this Occasion.

which made a fine Sight: [k] For many entered the Lists, and, as their Friends were Spectators, there was great Emulation. Horses also ran; they were obliged to run down to the Sea, and turning there, to come up again to the [l] Altar. In the Descent, many rolled down the Hill, but, when they came to climb it, the [m] Ascent was so very steep the Horses could scarce come in a Foot-pace. Upon this the Spectators shouted, and laughed, and animated their Friends. BOOK IV.

[k] Πολλοὶ γὰρ κατέβησαν. In this Sense *Horace* uses the Word *descendo*,

——————— *hic generosior*
Descendat in Campum Petitor. Horat. 1. *Od.* 3 *B.*

[l] Πρὸς τὸν Βωμόν. It is very probable, as *Hutchinson* has observed, that this Altar might be one of those taken Notice of by *Arrian*, in his *Periplus*, which, he says, were standing in his Time, and built of rough Stone.

[m] Ἄνω δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἰσχυρῶς ὄρθιον μόλις βάδην ἐπορεύοντο οἱ ἵπποι. Not only the Sense of the Words, but their Order admirably represents the Labour of the Horses, in climbing the steep Ascent: *Homer* has led the Way in this, as in all other Beauties both of Thought, and Style. With what Difficulty does *Sisyphus* crowd up the Stone to the Top of the Hill? Homer Odyss. λ.

Λᾶαν ἄνω ὤθεσκε ποτὶ λόφον ———————

And then, with what Celerity does it come bounding down?

—— ἔπειτα πέδονδε κυλίνδετο λᾶας ἀναιδής.

The End of the Fourth Book.

THE DISSERTATION OF POLYBIUS UPON THE MACEDONIAN PHALANX.

17 B.

HAVING promiſed, in the *fourth Book, to compare, upon a proper Occaſion, the Arms of the *Romans*, and *Macedonians*, and the different Diſpoſitions of their reſpective Armies, as alſo to conſider the Advantages, and Diſadvantages of both; I ſhall take the Opportunity of their being engaged together, to endeavour to perform my Promiſe. For ſince the *Macedonian* Dif-

* See page 306.

Diſpoſition, recommending itſelf by Succeſs, formerly prevailed over That of the *Aſiaticks* and *Greeks*; and, on the other Side, the *Roman* Diſpoſition has been victorious over That of the *Africans*, and of all the Inhabitants of the weſtern Part of *Europe*; and ſince, in our Time, there has been not only one but many Trials of the Diſpoſitions and Soldiers of both Nations; it will be a uſeful and a creditable Undertaking to enquire into the Difference of their Diſcipline, and conſider the Cauſe of the Victories of the *Romans*, and of their excelling all other Nations in military Atchievements, to the End we may not, by attributing their Succeſs to Fortune, like weak Men, compliment the Victorious without Foundation; but, by being acquainted with the true Reaſons of it, celebrate and admire the Conquerors with Juſtice.

As to what relates to the Battles, in which the *Romans* were engaged with *Hannibal*, and the Defeats they received from him, it is unneceſſary to enlarge upon them, ſince they were not owing either to their Arms, or their Diſpoſition,

but to a Superiority of Genius, and Conduct in *Hannibal.* This we have made appear in the Relation of thoſe Battles: And this is farther confirmed by the Event of the War, (for, as ſoon as the *Romans* were commanded by a General equal to *Hannibal*, they preſently became victorious) and alſo by the Conduct of *Hannibal* himſelf, who, diſliking the Arms his Men had, 'till then, made Uſe of, upon the firſt Victory he gained over the *Romans*, immediately armed his Forces with the Arms of the latter, and continued to uſe them ever after. It is alſo certain that *Pyrrhus* not only made uſe of *Italian* Arms, but alſo of *Italian* Forces, in his Engagements with the *Romans*, placing a Body of *Italians*, and of his own Men, drawn up in a *Phalanx*, alternately: However, not even, by this means, was he able to beat the *Romans*, but the Event of all their Battles proved doubtful. It was neceſſary to premiſe theſe Things, to the End that nothing may ſeem to contradict our Aſſertions. I now return to the propoſed Compariſon. Many Arguments may convince us that nothing can reſiſt the *Phalanx* in Front,

Front, or withſtand its Onſet, when poſſeſſed of all the Advantages, that are peculiar to it: For each Man, with his Arms, when drawn up in Order of Battle, takes up three Feet in Depth; and their Pikes, though originally ſixteen Cubits in Length, are however in Reality fourteen; of theſe, four are taken up by the Diſtance between his Hands, and ſo much of the hinder Part of the Pike, as is neceſſary to balance the fore Part, when preſented to the Enemy: This being ſo, it is plain that the Pike, when graſped with both Hands, and preſented, muſt project ten Cubits before each Man. Hence it happens, that the Pikes of the fifth Rank will project two Cubits, and thoſe of the ſecond, third, and fourth, will project more than two, before the File-leaders, when the Intervals, between the Ranks, and Files of the *Phalanx*, are properly obſerved, as *Homer* has ſhewn in theſe Verſes:

An Iron Scene gleams dreadful o'er the Fields,
Armour in Armour lock'd, and Shields in Shields,

Spears

Spears lean on Spears, on Targets Targets throng,
Helms ſtuck to Helms, and Man drove Man along. *Mr.* Pope.

This being truly and beautifully expreſſed, it follows, that five Pikes, differing two Cubits from one another in Length, muſt project before each of the File-leaders: So that it is an eaſy matter to repreſent to one's ſelf, the Appearance, and Strength of the whole *Phalanx*, when being, as uſual, drawn up ſixteen deep, and preſenting its Pikes, it makes an Attack. Of theſe ſixteen Ranks, thoſe, that exceed the fifth, cannot contribute, with their Pikes, to annoy the Enemy; for which Reaſon they do not preſent them, but each Rank inclines them over the Shoulders of that before it, in Order to ſecure them from above, the Pikes, by their Cloſeneſs, defending them from the miſſive Weapons, which might otherwiſe, by flying over the foremoſt Ranks, fall upon thoſe, who ſtand behind them. Beſides, each of theſe Ranks, preſſing in File, with the whole Weight of their Body, the Rank which immediately pre-

cedes,

cedes, they not only ſtrengthen the Attack, but make it impoſſible for the foremoſt Ranks to retreat. This being the Diſpoſition of the *Phalanx* in the Whole, and in Part, we are now to give an Account of the Properties, and Difference of the *Roman* Arms, and Diſpoſition, by comparing them together. The *Romans* likewiſe, with their Arms, take up three Feet in Depth: But, as they cover their Bodies with their Shields, changing their Guard at every Stroke, and make Uſe of their Swords both to cut, and thruſt, it happens that their Line of Battle is in a perpetual Fluctuation; this makes it neceſſary for each Man to have Room, and an Interval of, at leaſt, three Feet, both in Rank and in File, if it is expected he ſhould do his Duty; from whence it follows, that one *Roman* will ſtand oppoſite to two File-leaders of the *Phalanx*, and conſequently be expoſed to, and engaged with ten Spears, which it is not poſſible for one Man, when once the Armies cloſe, to cut to Pieces, before he is annoyed by them, or eaſy to break through, ſince the hindmoſt Ranks can contribute nothing either to the Force of the File-

leaders, or to the Efficacy of their Swords. From what has been ſaid it may be eaſily concluded that, as I before obſerved, nothing can withſtand the Onſet of the *Phalanx* in Front, while it preſerves all the Advantages that are peculiar to it. What therefore is the Cauſe that gives the Victory to the *Romans*, and defeats thoſe, who make uſe of the *Phalanx*? It is this: military Operations are uncertain both in Time, and Place; whereas the *Phalanx* has but one Time, one Place, and one Diſpoſition, in which it can perform the Service that is expected from it. If therefore there was a Neceſſity for the Enemy to engage the *Phalanx* at its own Time, and Place, in every deciſive Action, it is reaſonable to conclude, from what has been ſaid, that the latter would always prove victorious. But, if this is poſſible, and eaſy to be avoided, why ſhould that Diſpoſition be, any longer, looked upon as formidable? And, indeed, it is allowed that the *Phalanx* ſtands in Need of an even, and open Ground, where there is no Impediment, ſuch as Ditches, Chaſms, Valleys, Eminences, and Rivers: For all theſe are capable of con-

confounding, and breaking its Ranks. It muſt alſo be allowed that it is almoſt impoſſible, at leaſt, very rare, to find Places of twenty or more Stadia, in which there is nothing of this Nature: However, admit there are ſuch Places; if the Enemy does not think fit to engage the *Phalanx* there, but, inſtead of that, marches round, and lays waſte the Towns, and Country of their Friends, what will be the Service of ſuch a Diſpoſition? Since, while the *Phalanx* remains in the Places, that are proper for it, ſo far is it from being able to relieve its Friends, that it is incapable even of preſerving it ſelf; for the Enemy will eaſily cut off their Proviſions, the Moment they have, without Oppoſition, made themſelves abſolute Maſters of the Country: And, if the *Phalanx* quits the Places that are proper for it, to engage in any Enterprize, it will become an eaſy Conqueſt. But, if the Enemy, reſolving to engage the *Phalanx* in an even Place, ſhould, inſtead of expoſing his whole Army at once to the Onſet of the *Phalanx*, retreat a little the Inſtant it charges, the Event may be eaſily foreſeen from what the *Ro-*

mans now practiſe. For I deſire no Judgment be formed of my Aſſertions from what I ſay, but from what has already happened: Since the *Romans* do not engage the *Phalanx* with all their Legions drawn up in a Line parallel to the former; but ſome Diviſions of them lie behind in Reſerve, while others are engaged; ſo that, whether the *Phalanx* forces thoſe who are oppoſite to it to give Way, or is it ſelf forced by them to give Way, the Property of it is deſtroyed: For, in Order to purſue thoſe who fly, or to fly from thoſe who purſue, ſome Parts of the Line muſt leave the reſt; which no ſooner happens, than an Opening is given for the Reſerve to take the Ground they left, and, inſtead of attacking thoſe who remain in Front, to break in upon their Flanks, or their Rear. Since, therefore, it is an eaſy Matter to avoid the Opportunities, and Advantages of the *Phalanx*, but impoſſible for the latter to avoid Thoſe the *Romans* have over it, how is it poſſible there ſhould not, in reality, be a great Difference between them? Beſides, it is ſome times neceſſary for the *Phalanx* to march through, and encamp in all Sorts of

of Places; at others, to prevent the Enemy, by ſeizing ſome advantageous Poſt; ſome times, to beſiege, at others, to be be beſieged, and to meet with unexpected Occurrences; for all theſe Things are incident to War, and either decide the Victory, or greatly contribute to it: And, in all theſe, the Diſpoſition of the *Macedonians* is of little, or no Uſe; it being impoſſible for the Men, either in Companies, or ſingly, to perform any Service: Whereas That of the *Romans* is properly adapted to all; for every *Roman*, when once armed for Action, is equally fit for all Places, for all Times, and all Occurrences: He is alſo ready and equally diſpoſed either for a general, or a particular Action, to charge with his Company, or engage in a ſingle Combat. As, therefore, the Diſpoſition of the *Romans* is vaſtly ſuperior to That of the *Macedonians* in the Uſe of all its Parts, ſo the Enterprizes of the former are vaſtly more ſucceſsful than Thoſe of the latter.

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The End of the First Volume.

THE EXPEDITION OF CYRUS INTO PERSIA; AND THE RETREAT OF THE TEN THOUSAND GREEKS.

TRANSLATED FROM

XENOPHON,

WITH

CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL NOTES,

By EDWARD SPELMAN, Esq.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

THIRD EDITION, CORRECTED.

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M.DCC.LXXVI.

THE following Geographical Dissertation, *is a Work of so much Learning, that I am confident it will be thought not only to explain, but even to adorn the* Expedition of CYRUS; *and though, at first, I believe, only designed as a Compliment to my Bookseller, is received with as great Acknowledgement by the Author, as it will be with Approbation by the Public. There are, I observe, some Points, in which this learned Gentleman differs from me in Chronology, and the Computation of the* Greek *Measures, or rather from* Diodorus Siculus, *and* Arbuthnot, *whom I have followed; but I could never answer it either to the Public, or my self, if any Difference of Opinion in those Points could create in me a Wish to deprive them of so great an Improvement, or my Work of so great an Ornament.* ——

GEOGRAPHICAL

DISSERTATION.

IT is obſerved by a late ingenious Author, that a Prince, ſo entirely bent upon the enlarging of his Territories, as *Lewis* XIV. was, could not be very well pleaſed with the Mathematicians, who meaſured his Kingdom: for that by fixing the true Boundaries of his Dominions, they robbed him of more Land, than he could have any Hopes of regaining by four or five of his moſt ſucceſsful Campaigns. The *Mohammedan* Princes have ſtill a ſtronger Tye (if ſtronger can be than Ambition) in this reſpect: Their Religion obliges them, both to extend their Borders, and to be in a peculiar manner tenacious of what they already poſſeſs. How therefore the

Grand

Grand Seignior may reliſh the Meaſures of our modern Geographers, I cannot take upon me to ſay; but certain it is, that they have deprived him of ſo much Land (which before he had an unconteſted Title to) that had the *Grand Monarque* ſuffered in ſuch a Degree, the World would never afterwards have had any Reaſon to fear the *Gallic* Power.

THE *Arabians*, who are the Geographers, the *Turks* are moſt converſant with, lay down *Byzantium*, and the Northern Parts of *Aſia Minor*, in about 45 Degrees of North Latitude; *Ptolemy* in [a] about 43; and the Southern Parts of *Cilicia*, *Pamphilia*, &c. in [b] 36° 30′; whereas in fact the former lie in about 41°, and the latter in 37°. So that the *Arabians*

[a] He places *Byzantium* in 43° 5′. *Bithyniæ Promontorium* 43° 20′. *Heraclea*, *Ponti* 43° 10′. *Parthenii Oſtia* 43° 10′. *Sinope* 44°. *Halys Oſtia* 43° 10′. *Amiſus* 43° 6′, and *Trapezus* 43° 5′. So that Mr. *Greaves* (*Philoſoph. Tranſact.* N°. 178) had no Occaſion to have Recourſe to *Ptolemy*'s *Almageſt. Magn.* to prove there is no Error crept into the Text, with Regard to the Latitude of *Byzantium*, ſince all theſe Places correſpond with it, and particularly *Chalcedon*, which ſtood over againſt it, he puts exactly in the ſame Latitude, *viz.* 43° 5′.

[b] I ſay in 36° 30′, tho' I might have ſaid leſs; for he places the Middle of *Rhodes* in 35°. *Xanthi Fluv. Oſtia* in 36° 0′. *Phaſelis* 36° 25′, and *Iſſus* 36° 25′.

bians make this Part of the *Grand Seignior*'s Dominions four Degrees and a half; *Ptolemy*, and by far the greateſt Part of the Geographers ever ſince, two Degrees and a half broader, than in reality it is; which conſidering the Length of the *Euxine* Sea, *viz.* more than 1000 Miles, is ſo conſiderable a Portion of Country, as a ſuperſtitious *Mohammedan* could not be eaſily brought to part with.

I think, I may venture to ſay, that the *Arabians* are not to be complimented, with having made any great Improvements in Geography. It is probable, the firſt of them made uſe of a faulty Copy of *Ptolemy* in laying down the Places abovementioned, or, it may be, inſtead of 43° 5′, he miſtook the Letters, and made it 45°, and the reſt followed him without ever enquiring into the Truth. But for *Ptolemy*, who will, I believe be allowed to be the greateſt Geographer the World ever produced, to fall into ſuch a Miſtake, is very ſurprizing; when we conſider, that [c] *Herodotus* poſitively affirms, that a Man, prepared for Expedition,

[c] In *Clio*, Cap. 72.

tion, could go on foot from the *Cilician* Sea to the *Euxine* in five Days. Indeed *Ptolemy* makes a Degree of the Great Circle to conſiſt of but 500 Stadia, and conſequently the Breadth of *Aſia Minor* (as it is commonly called) will not be increaſed in proportion to the Number of Degrees, it being according to this Computation, about 400 Miles *Engliſh*: But this is a great deal too much, eſpecially as the Country is very mountainous, for a Footman to diſpatch in ſo ſhort a time as five Days.

Strabo, from *Eratoſthenes* [d], places the *Sinus Iſſicus* in the ſame Parallel with the *Fretum Gaditanum*; which is pretty near the Truth: But then he ſays again, from *Hipparchus* [e], that *Narbon*, *Maſſalia*, and *Byzantium* lie under one Parallel. This it is probable [f] led *Ptolemy* into the miſtake

[d] Book 2. In the Beginning.

[e] Book 2, page 106, and in other places.

[f] There might another Reaſon be aſſigned for *Ptolemy*'s placing *Byzantium* ſo far to the Northward, and that is his making a Degree of the Great Circle to conſiſt of but 500 Stadia, whereas in reality it contains very near 605: So that the greater the Diſtance, the more in Proportion are the Number of Degrees increaſed: ſix of *Ptolemy*'s not being quite equal to five of the Great Circle: And thus we find, that the Diſtance between *Alex-*

take above mentioned. The Latitude of *Maſſalia* had been determined to be about 43, by the Obſervations of *Pytheas*. He therefore placed *Byzantium* and the Shore of the *Euxine* in the ſame Latitude, and of conſequence made all this Country almoſt double what it is in reality. Indeed *Strabo* proves afterwards by an [g] odd

ſort

Alexandria in *Egypt*, the Place of *Ptolemy*'s Reſidence, and *Byzantium*, is in reality about 10 Degrees, the former being in near 31, the latter in 41; whereas *Ptolemy* increaſing one Degree in five, has placed *Byzantium* in 43. However as *Hipparchus* in *Strabo* does affirm, that *Byzantium* is by Obſervation exactly in the ſame Latitude with *Maſſalia*; Φησί γὰρ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι λόγον τῆ γνώμονος πρὸς τὴν σκιὰν, ὃν εἶπεν ὁ Πυθέας ἐν Μασσαλίᾳ. And as *Ptolemy* makes them exactly the ſame, *viz.* μγ. ις. 43, 5. I think it is moſt probable he was miſled by thoſe Authorities. We may from this be convinced how little ſtreſs ought to be laid upon the Obſervations of the Ancients, and how far their Authority is to be relied on, with regard to the Motion of the Poles of the Earth. Mr. *Caſſini*, in the *Mem.* of the *Acad. Royal*, has treated this Subject in a very curious and ample Manner: After which I am ſurprized how M. *Voltaire*, (*Philoſophie de Newton*, *cap.* 23) could eſpouſe this Opinion of the Poles ſhifting after the Rate of one Minute in 100 Years; and affirm that the *Egyptian* Aſtronomers had made regular Obſervations of the Heavens for two whole Revolutions of the Poles: Which makes the *Egyptians* a very ancient Nation indeed; for two Revolutions amount to no leſs than 4320000 Years. This he gathers from *Herodotus*, who ſays, that the *Ægyptian* Annals mention the Sun's riſing twice in the Weſt. A Conſequence this, which nothing but an exalt d Genius could have drawn! But we muſt remember this Gentleman is a Poet, as well as a Philoſopher.

[g] He ſays, *It is allowed by moſt People, that the Line*

which

ſort of Reaſoning that the Parallel of *Byzantium* is much more Northward than that of *Maſſalia*: Becauſe from *Byzantium* to *Rhodes*, (which lies in the ſame Parallel with the *Fretum Gaditanum*) he ſays, is allowed by all, to be 4900 Stadia: But that from *Maſſalia* to the aforeſaid Parallel is not quite 2500. We may preſume that *Strabo*, tho' a very cautious and very modeſt Writer, did not attend to the Words of *Herodotus*; for if he had, he muſt have concluded, that upon the Suppoſition of *Hipparchus* and *Eratoſthenes*, a Footman could travel in five Days

which is drawn from the Streights of Gibraltar, *thro' the* Fare *of* Meſſina, Athens, *and* Rhodes, *makes all theſe Places lie under the ſame Parallel: It is alſo allowed that this Line (from the* Streights *to the* Fare*) paſſes ſomewhere very near the middle of the Sea. Now we are aſſured by Navigators, that the greateſt Diſtance from* France (from the Gulph of *Lyons*) *to* Africa *is no more than* 5000 *Stadia*; *and conſequently that this is the Breadth of the* Mediterranean *in the broadeſt Place. So that from the aforeſaid Line to the farther Corner of the Gulph of* Lyons, *muſt be* 2500 *Stadia*; *and to* Maſſalia *ſomewhat leſs, becauſe it ſtands more Southward than the Bite of the Bay. But from* Rhodes *to* Byzantium *is* 4900 *Stadia*; *ſo that the Parallel of* Byzantium *muſt be a great deal more Northward* (πολὺ ἀρκλικώτερος) *than that of* Maſſalia. *Pag.* 115. The Fallacy of this Argument is quickly perceived, by only caſting an Eye upon any common Map, where we ſhall find that the Difference of Latitude between *Rhodes* and *Conſtantinople*, is not four Degrees, that is, not 2500 Stadia, and that the Parallel of the *Streights* runs into the Coaſt of *Africa*.

Days the whole Breadth of *Spain*, that is, from the *Fretum Gaditanum* (the Streights of *Gibraltar*) to the *Mare Cantabrium*, (the Bay of *Biſcay*) and upon his own Suppoſition is much leſs; either of which a Man of his Intelligence muſt know to be quite impracticable.

ALL that can be ſaid in this caſe is, that the greateſt Part of the Ancients looked upon *Herodotus*, as an Author, that indulged himſelf too much in the Privilege of Travellers; and therefore in general ſeem to give very little Credit to what he advances: tho' Time and Experience have at laſt convinced the World, that he had a Genius ſuperior to the reſt of Mankind; that his Diligence and Veracity were equal to his Genius; and that he, like our Countryman *R. Bacon*, diſcovered Truths too ſublime for the Contemplation of the Age he lived in.

THIS I thought proper to premiſe, becauſe ſeveral modern Map-makers, and [h] ſome late Authors ſtill adhere to *Ptolemy*,

[h] Some of theſe Mr. *Spelman* has followed in note [h], Book 4, page 269, where he ſays that *Armenia* lies between

ny, in placing *Byzantium* and the *Euxine* two Degrees too far to the Northward. I ſhall for the future confine myſelf to the proper Subject of this Diſſertation, *viz.* to the Rout which the *Greek* Army took, in their Expedition to *Babylon*, and in their Return back again.

XENOPHON begins his Account of their March from *Sardes*, the Capital of *Lydia*, becauſe he there joined the Army; but afterwards conſtantly computes from *Epheſus*, the Sea-Port from whence he began his Journey. They directed their [i] March thro' the Middle of the Country; thro' *Lydia*, *Phrygia*, *Lycaonia*, *Cappadocia*, and [k] *Cilicia*, to the Gates tween the 40th and 43d Degrees of Latitude; whereas *Trebiſond* lies in 41° 4′, ſo that *Armenia* cannot reach at moſt to above forty and a half.

[i] I ſhall ſpeak more particularly of this March, when I come to take Notice of M. *Deliſle*'s Computations.

[k] I would recommend the following Paſſage in *Diodorus Siculus*, to the Conſideration of the next Editor of that Author, Ὁ δὲ Κῦρος, ἐπειδὴ διῆλθε τὴν Κιλικίαν, καὶ παρεγενήθη πρὸς πόλιν ἰσσὸν, ἐπὶ θαλάττης μὲν κειμένην, ἐσχάτην δ' οὖσαν τῆς Κιλικίας, καταπλεῦσας εἰς αὐτὴν. *Booth* tranſlates it, *Having marched almoſt through all* Cilicia, *he took Shipping and arrived at laſt by Sea at* Iſſus, *the utmoſt City of that Country, near the Sea-ſide.* Which is indeed a verbal Tranſlation of the *Latin* Verſion; but how to reconcile it with the Original, or with *Xenophon*'s Account of this March, I confeſs, I cannot tell.

Gates of *Syria*, near the upper End of *Sinus Iſſicus*.

FROM thence they proceeded to *Myriandrus*, a Sea-Port Town of which no Foot-ſteps, that I can hear of, at preſent remain. *Ptolemy* [1] places it 20 Minutes South of *Alexandria penes Iſſum*, (*Scanderûn*) upon the ſame Meridian: But whoever caſts his Eye upon the Chart of the Bay of *Scanderûn*, will ſoon perceive this to be impoſſible; becauſe the Bay lies near the North-Eaſt and South-Weſt, and both theſe Towns ſtood upon the Shore. All that we can gather from it is, that they were diſtant from each other 20 of *Ptolemy*'s Minutes, *i. e.* 19 *Engliſh* Miles; and that therefore *Myriandrus* is to be placed at the Entrance into the Bay, juſt within the *Scopulus Rhoſſicus*, now called, *Ras al Khanzir*.

FROM hence the Army in four Days March made 20 *Paraſangas*, (in our Language *Leagues*) and came to the River *Chalus*, very juſtly by the great *Deliſle* ſup-

[1] *Alexandria penes Iſſum* Long. 69° 10′, Lat. 36° 10′. *Myriandrus* 69° 10′ Lat. 35° 50′. Mr. *Deliſle* has placed this Town 15 Minutes to the North of *Alexandrete*.

ſuppoſed to be the *Chalib*, or *Alep*, the River of *Aleppo*; becauſe the Name is not only the ſame, allowing for the different Genius of Languages; but the Diſtance ſhews it can be no other. For as *Aleppo* is about 20 ſmall Hours Journey from *Scanderûn*; ſo it muſt be ſomething more from *Myriandrus*, which lay near South-Weſt from the latter of thoſe Places; and as there lies a great Bog in the direct Road, which was made paſſable but of late Years, and which *Cyrus*'s Army was to go almoſt round; we may conclude, that all theſe put together, muſt make the Diſtance from *Myriandrus* to the *Chalus*, 20 *Paraſangas*, or *Perſian* Leagues. In mentioning the *Chalus*, I cannot but make one Remark, and that is, that it is in one reſpect very different from what it was formerly. *Xenophon* ſays, it was full of Fiſh in his time; and gives a very good [m] Reaſon for it. *Rauwolf* [n] ſays, there is great Scarcity of Fiſh at *Aleppo*, tho' the Inhabitants do not eſteem them: But the Reaſon he gives for their Indifference to this ſort of Victuals, ſeems to

me

[m] Becauſe the Inhabitants of that Country worſhipped them as Gods, ſee Vol. I, page 46.

[n] Travels publiſhed by *J. Ray*, Part I. c. 8.

me a little extraordinary; he says, *It is because most of them drink Water instead of Wine.*

FROM the *Chalus*, in five Days March, they made 30 *Parasangas*, and came to the Sources of the River *Daradax*, which *Xenophon* affirms to be 100 Feet broad; by which we must naturally conclude, that the Army marched along the Bank of it a considerable way; because we cannot suppose any River in this Country, the Edge of the Desert of *Arabia*, to be 100 Feet in breadth at the Source. What River this was, or what is the present Name of it, is difficult, perhaps impossible, to determine. The *Plethrum*, or Measure of 100 Feet, is but a lax way of reckoning, and might perhaps be applied to Rivers a [o] great deal less than 100 Feet in Breadth: as our [p] Measures in modern Times are often applied to Rivers

[o] Thus we find *Xenophon* applies this Measure of 100 Feet to some of the Rivers of *Cilicia*, which other Authors call no more than Brooks falling from Mount *Taurus* cross a small plain into the Sea.

[p] In this manner *Ranwolf* says, the *Euphrates* is half a League broad at *Babylon*; whereas Sir *Thomas Herbert* says, it is only almost double the Breadth of the *Thames* at *London*. At *Bir*, *Ranwolf* says, 'tis a Mile broad; *Maundrel*, that it is as broad as the *Thames* at *London*.

Rivers in a very random manner. However, as modern Travellers take no Notice of any ſuch River, we muſt let it reſt as it is, till more ſatisfactory Diſcoveries are made in theſe Parts. What ſuprizes me moſt in this very particular Account of their March, is, that our Author takes no Notice of the River, now called [q] *Ephrin*, about half way between the Bay of *Scanderûn* and *Aleppo*; and which the Army muſt of neceſſity paſs in their March to the Eaſt: for it riſes in the Mountains above *Korus*, and falls into the Lake of *Antioch*. This River is at leaſt as conſiderable as the *Chalus*, and much more ſo, I dare venture to ſay, than any River between *Aleppo* and the *Euphrates*. This, among a great many others, ſome of which I ſhall have occaſion to mention in the ſequel of this Diſcourſe, does almoſt prevail upon me to think,

[q] *Tavernier* mentions two Rivers between *Alexandretta* and *Aleppo*; over the firſt, he ſays, is *a Bridge very long and ſtrongly built*, Book II. cap. 1. But in this he is miſtaken, the Bridge and Cauſeway being laid over the Bog above mentioned; the other he calls *Aſiora*, and ſays, that *upon Rains it is not fordable*: This is the *Ephrin*, the Fording of which does frequently ſo much Damage to the Bales of Goods, that our *Turky* Merchants, ſome Years ago, propoſed to build a Bridge over it at their own Expence: But the *Turk* would not conſent, and ſo the Deſign was dropped.

think, that *Xenophon* kept no Journal, at leaſt no regular one, of this Expedition; but that he drew it up a great many Years afterwards, at his leiſure in his Exile, from the ſeveral Particulars, which muſt have made a very ſtrong impreſſion upon his Memory. This will not ſeem ſo ſtrange, when we conſider, that, in *Xenophon*'s Days, Writing was not, what it is in ours; the Materials were not eaſy to be had, nor were they eaſy to be carried in ſuch Marches, as they performed.

FROM the Source of the *Daradax*, they marched, in three Days, fifteen *Paraſangas* to *Thapſacus* upon the *Euphrates*. This City, tho' nothing at preſent remains of it but the Name, was formerly a place of great Note: It was the Frontier-Town of the Kingdom of *Iſrael* in the Days of *David* and *Solomon*; for it is ſaid 1 *Kings* iv. 24. that *Solomon* הוא רדה בכל עבר הנהר מתפסה ועד עזה בכל מלכי עבר הנהר; that is, *He had Dominion over all on this Side the River, from* Thapſakh *even to* Ngaza, *over all the Kings on*

[1] I ſhall ſpeak of this more particularly towards the End of this Diſſertation.

on this Side the River, viz. the *Euphrates*. Our Tranſlators have rendered them *Tiphſah* and *Azzah*, which puts ſuch a Diſguiſe upon theſe two noted Cities, that, I dare to ſay, very few People upon ſeeing theſe Names in the Bible, have been able to know them. Such Confuſion has the *Pointing* of the *Hebrew* brought into that primitive and ſacred Language! *Thapſakh*, in the Original, ſignifies a *Paſs*, or *paſſing over*, or perhaps in this place more properly a *Ford*: For as in our Nation, there are at preſent Bridges over moſt of the Rivers at ſuch Places as end in *Ford*, ſuch as *Oxford*, *Wallingford*, *Hertford*, and the like; yet it is certain that theſe Names were given them from *fording* the Rivers at thoſe Places before Bridges were built. In like manner it is more than probable, that *Thapſakh* was ſo called from the *Euphrates* being fordable at that place; becauſe it was a Town of Note in *David*'s Time, and conſequently muſt have had its Name long before, in thoſe times of ſimple Nature, when Ferry-Boats and Bridges of Boats were not invented. *Ptolemy* makes the *Euphrates* fordable

here, and *Rauwolf*, about the ſame Place, found the River ſo full of Shoals, that, though their Boats could draw but little Water, the Navigation was extremely dangerous. And indeed *Menon*, who was a Man of great Cunning, muſt have drawn this Secret from ſome-body, elſe it can ſcarce be ſuppoſed, he would attempt to paſs a River, near half an *Engliſh* Mile in Breadth, that is, broader than the *Thames* at *Woolwich*. This I have been the more particular in, with a Deſign to ſhew what a notable Compliment the Inhabitants of *Thapſacus* paid *Cyrus*, when they told him that the Gods had wrought a Miracle in his Favour, by making the *River*, the *Great River* to ſubmit to his Authority; in as much as it was never known to be fordable before this time.

I cannot here paſs without taking Notice of a great Error crept into the Copies of *Strabo*; where ſpeaking of *Alexander*'s Deſign of ſubduing the *Arabs*, he tells us, *That Great Conqueror, ſeeing the Impoſſibility of attacking them by Land, propoſed to build a great Quantity of Boats in* Phœ-

Phœnicia *and* Cyprus, *and* [s] *transporting them ſeven Stadia to* Thapſacus, *to convey them by means of the River to* Babylon. Which makes it not a Mile from the Coaſt of the *Mediterranean* to *Thapſacus*, whereas it muſt be at leaſt 150. I cannot find that any of the learned Men, who have made their Obſervations upon this Author, have taken any Notice, much leſs made any Attempt towards the clearing up, of this Paſſage.

PLINY, *Stephanus* of *Byzantium*, and *Lucan* affirm, that *Alexander* paſſed the *Euphrates* at *Zeugma*, (a Place near 230 Miles higher up the River than *Thapſacus*) contrary to the Authority of all other Hiſtorians, and the Nature of the thing itſelf; for as *Alexander* was at *Tyre* in his Return from *Egypt*, and was to direct

[s] Book XVI, page 741. Ἃ κομισθέντα εἰς Θάψακον, σταδίοις ἑπτὰ, εἶτα τῷ ποταμῷ καταπομισθῆναι μέχρι Βαβυλῶνος. It is certain that *Strabo* in compoſing ſuch a Work, as his Geography is, muſt conſult a very great Variety of Authors: And tho' he himſelf always makes uſe of the *Stadium* in computing of Diſtances, yet in tranſcribing other Writings, he might ſometimes be forced to adopt other Terms: for Inſtance in this place, he might meet with σταδμοὶς ἑπτὰ, and put it down ſo, as not being able to determine the exact Quantity: Which ſome ignorant Scribe, ſeeing σταδίοις in all other Places made uſe of, might change, and think he had done his Author great Service.

direct his March towards *Arbela*, it would have been near 400 Miles out of his Way to have gone to *Zeugma*. What might probably lead *Pliny* and the reſt into this Miſtake, was the Name of the Place: For [t] *Zeugma* was ſo called, becauſe a Bridge was laid over the *Euphrates* there: And as there was alſo a Bridge over the *Euphrates* at *Thapſacus*, it might eaſily lead Authors at ſo great a Diſtance into ſuch a Miſtake. The Reaſon Mr. *Hutchinſon* gives, *viz.* that [u] *Theſe Authors muſt ſpeak of differcnt Expeditions*, ſounds ſomewhat ſtrange to me; becauſe it is certain that *Alexander* made but one Expedition againſt the *Perſian*; at leaſt (which is moſt to our Purpoſe) that he never paſſed the *Euphrates* but once in theſe Parts.

As

[t] What *Pliny* ſays, Book V. cap. 26. *Scinditur* Euphrates *à* Zeugmate *octoginta tribus millibus paſſuum*; *& parte læva in* Meſopotamiam, *vadit per ipſam* Seleuciam, *circa eam præfluenti infuſus* Tigri, is ſufficient to perſuade us that either there is ſome Error in the Text, or that *Zeugma*, was a lax Term applied to ſeveral places; for *Zeugma*, properly ſo called, ſtood ſomewhere near the place where *Bir* now ſtands, from whence to the End of the Mountains of *Meſopotamia*, is near 300 Miles; and from thence to the plain Country of *Babylonia*, where this Diviſion moſt aſſuredly was, muſt be above 400 Miles: ſo that inſtead of 80, perhaps it ſhould be 800.

[u] *De diverſis nimirum Expeditionibus intelligendæ videntur diſcrepantes auctorum Narrationes.* Diſſert. page 8.

As to *Ptolemy's* placing *Thapſacus* in *Arabia Deſerta*, whereas all other Authors place it in *Syria*, it is but very little material; becauſe tho' it is really within the Limits of *Syria*, yet it ſtands [x] in the Deſert, which adjoins to *Arabia*. This great Geographer places *Thapſacus* in 35 Degrees of Latitude: But as he puts all the Sea-Coaſt half a Degree too far towards the South, ſo I have ventured to place this in 35° 30′.

THE Army having paſſed the *Euphrates*, marched upon the Banks of it, for the moſt part: I ſay, for the moſt part, becauſe they did not do it conſtantly; ſince *Xenophon* tells us, *pag.* 58. B. 1. that *Some of their Marches were very long, when* Cyrus *had a mind the Army ſhould go on, till they came to Water or Forage.* Now they cannot be ſuppoſed to quicken their Marches for want of Water, while they travelled upon the Bank of ſo fine a River. We are but little acquainted with the Courſe of the *Euphrates*, tho' ſeveral modern Travellers have ſailed down it. It

[x] The Deſert begins two or three Leagues from *Aleppo*. *Tavernier*, Book II. c. 3.

It is probable, that the River makes ſome great Windings towards the South, where no Man, that is acquainted with the Country, would keep to the Bank of it: One of theſe *Rauwolf* mentions, [y] which took them up more than half a Day to paſs.

STRABO makes the Diſtance between *Thapſacus* and *Babylon*, following the Courſe of the *Euphrates* (that is the Rout this Army took) [z] to be 4800 Stadia; and as it is repeated very often, we may depend upon it, there is no Error crept into the Text: And as the *Greeks* in *Alexander*'s Time, and for ſeveral Years afterwards travelled this Way, the Diſtance muſt be very well known. However *Xenophon* in his Account of this March makes it a great deal more, as we ſhall ſee by laying the ſeveral Numbers together, *viz.*

From

[y] He ſays, that *on the 9th of* October *they came to a Point called* Euſy, *which took them up more than half a Day to paſs.* So that if they were above half a Day in reaching the Point, it is probable that the Bent of the River was more than double, and muſt take them more than a Day to get round; which could not be an inconſiderable Diſtance, as the Stream was in their Favour.

[z] Book II, page 82, &c.

	Paraſangas.
From *Thapſacus*, thro' *Syria*, to the River [a] *Araxes*, in 9 Days,	50
To the River *Maſca*, unknown to modern Writers, in 5 Days,	35
To *Pylæ*, in 13 Days, - - -	90
In *Babylonia*, 3 Days, - - -	12
March in Order of Battle, *p.* 80. 1 Day,	3
March with leſs Circumſpection 1 Day, ſuppoſe, - - -	3
It is plain from what is ſaid concerning the Retreat of *Ariæus*, after the Battle, *p.* 104, that upon the Day of Battle, they had marched - - - -	4
	197

Which amounts to no leſs than 5910 *Stadia:* Now if we conſider that they were yet a conſiderable Diſtance [b] on this ſide *Babylon*, (*Plutarch* ſays 500 Stadia) we muſt perceive this Account ſwelled prodigiouſly above the Truth. All the Solution that I can pretend to give to

[a] This River *Rauwolf* calls *Chabu*, (not obſerving the *r* in the Termination) and ſays there is a Caſtle named *Sere* at the Mouth of it, *P.* II. *c.* 5. There was a Caſtle in this place in the Days of *Julian* the Apoſtate, which *Zoſimus* calls *Circeſium*, Book III.

[b] *Xenophon* ſays no leſs than 3060 *Stadia*, but this I ſhall ſpeak more particularly to by and by.

to this Difficulty is, that the *Perſians* who were the Guides of this Expedition, muſt mark out the Diſtances according to their Fancies: That exceſſive Heat and Hunger are Companions, that make a Journey ſeem tedious and long; and conſequently when their *Perſian* Friends told them they had marched ſo many *Paraſangas*, the *Greeks* made no Heſitation to believe them, in order to reſt themſelves. And indeed if we attentively conſider the Marches, as ſet down in *Xenophon*, we ſhall find moſt of them too long for ſo great an Army to perform, eſpecially as they muſt have a prodigious Quantity of Carriages along with them, not only to convey their Proviſions, but alſo the Accoutrements of the heavy-armed Men. For inſtance, from the *Araxes* to the *Maſca*, they marched in five Days 35 *Paraſangas*, that is, above 24 Miles a Day. From *Maſca* to *Pylæ*, they diſpatched in 13 Days 90 *Paraſangas*, which is very near 24 Miles one Day with another; too much to be performed by an Army of near 120000 Men, in the middle of Summer, in the Latitude of 34, and with ſuch great Num-

Numbers of Attendants, as they muſt of neceſſity have along with them.

In marching thro' the Country of *Babylon*, they came to the Canals which were cut between the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, in order, as moſt Authors agree, to circulate the Waters of the latter, which would otherwiſe drown all the adjacent Country, when the Snows melt upon the *Armenian* Mountains. *Xenophon* ſays, theſe Canals fall out of the *Tigris* into the *Euphrates*; whereas [c] *Strabo* and *Pliny* ſay the contrary, and *Arrian* goes ſo far as to affirm, that the Level of the *Tigris* is much lower, than that of the *Euphrates*; ſo that the Water muſt neceſſarily run always one way. Our modern Travellers inform us, that the Country, between theſe two Rivers, is, in theſe Parts, rich low Land, ſomething like the Province of *Holland*: So that it is more than probable that theſe Canals were cut to circulate the Waters of the one River as much as the other; and that as the *Tigris* is by much the moſt rapid of the two, the Water muſt come down with greater

[c] See Mr. *Spelman*'s note [x], Book I. page 80.

greater fury, and ſtand in more need of being diverted when it arrived in the level Country. It is worth our Obſervation, that theſe two great Rivers could never ſwell at the ſame ſeaſon; becauſe as the Mountains out of which the *Tigris* riſes, lie in the South of *Armenia*, and thoſe in which the *Euphrates* has its Source in the North, it is certain that the Snows upon the former muſt melt ſooner, than thoſe upon the latter. Accordingly we find the Author of *Eccleſiaſticus* mentions the overflowing of the *Tigris* [d] in the latter End of *March* and Beginning of *April*. And *Pliny* aſſures us, that the *Euphrates* overflows in [e] *July* and *Auguſt*. It might ſo happen, that the *Greek* or *Roman* Travellers, from whom theſe Authors could have had their Intelligence, (all Travellers generally chooſe the Spring to perform long Jour-

[d] Chap. xxiv, *v.* 25. *Pliny* alſo ſays, that the *Tigris* overflows in ſuch a Manner, as to run into a River which falls into the *Euphrates*, *B.* VI, *c.* 27. Now if it does this in the upper Parts, where its Current is ſo very ſwift, as to merit the Appellation of *Arrow*, what can we expect in the lower Country, where the Land is flat, and its Stream more gentle?

[e] *Increſcit* (*nempe* Euphrates) *ſtatis diebus*, Meſopotamiam *inundans*, *ſole obtinente viceſimam partem* Cancri: *minui incipit in* Virgine, Leone *tranſgreſſo*. *In totum vero remeat in viceſima nona parte* Virginis *B.* V. 26.

Journeys in) might not arrive at *Babylon* early enough in the Seaſon to ſee any thing of the Riſe of the *Tigris*. But having ſpent *March*, *April*, *May*, and perhaps *June*, in their Journey, they muſt find the Channel of the *Euphrates* quite full, and diſcharging the ſuperfluous Waters with great Rapidity into the *Tigris*; ſufficient to perſuade any common Obſerver, that the Level of the former muſt be above that of the latter. However, had it been ſo in reality, the *Euphrates* muſt quickly have forſook his old Courſe, and in a few Years have joined the *Tigris* by one or more of theſe Canals: For *Strabo* and modern Obſervers have aſſured us, that the Land between theſe Rivers is fat and very rotten, and conſequently muſt ſoon have been worn deep and broad enough, to convey any Quantity of Water, which for a conſtancy could run thro' it. When our Author was in this Country, I find by Computation was towards the latter end of *September*, a Time when both the *Euphrates* and *Tigris* muſt be very low; and therefore ſome Art muſt be uſed in order to make theſe Canals ſo full of Water.

Cleaarchus, we ſee ſuſpected to be the Caſe (*vide* p. 135.) and no doubt but that he had good Reaſon for theſe Suſpicions. The *Tigris* was much the ſmaller River of the two, and conſequently the more managable: It is therefore probable, that they had ſome Works in it, in order to raiſe the Water to a proper Height; and that when *Cyrus* approached with his Army, it is likely the King ordered the Country to be laid under Water, as far as they were able to do it, with a Deſign to retard and haraſs them as much as poſſible. This would turn the Water thro' the Canals into the *Euphrates*, and may be the Reaſon why *Xenophon* differs from other Authors in this particular.

SPEAKING of the Magnitude of the *Euphrates*, puts me in mind of what *Strabo* ſays of it; where he informs us, that it run thro' the Middle of ancient *Babylon*, and was a Stadium in Breadth, [f] Ὁ γὰρ ποταμὸς διὰ μέσου ῥεῖ τῆς πολέως σταδιαῖος τὸ πλάτος: Which *Calmet*, with the generality of [g] modern Writers, take for

[f] *Book* XVI, *p.* 738.

[g] Dean *Prideaux* Connec. *Part* 1, *Book* II, adheres to this

for granted without examining what Difficulties ſuch an Aſſertion is loaded with. *Xenophon* who forded it himſelf, affirms, that this River is four *Stadia* broad at *Thapſacus*, above 500 Miles higher than *Babylon*; and all the World is ſenſible, that Rivers do not grow narrower the further they proceed in their Courſe. What ſurprizes me moſt is, that *Calmet* ſhould fall into this Miſtake, when he had *Rauwolf* before him, and quotes him in this very Article, as an Author of conſiderable Credit. This Writer travelled thro' theſe Parts near 200 Years ago, and ſpeaking of the Bridge of *Babylon* (ſome of the Piers of which at this Day remain) ſays thus; *The Arches of it are built of burnt Brick, and ſo ſtrong that it is admirable; and that ſo much the more, becauſe all along the River,*

this Senſe of *Strabo*, tho' he quotes *Diodorus Siculus*, who tells us *Book* II. *That the Bridge of* Babylon *was five* Stadia *long*. Now inſtead of correcting *Strabo* by ſuch an Authority, he gives it this unnatural Turn, *viz.* that *the Bridge muſt be a great deal longer than the River was broad*: Tho' he himſelf has but juſt before told us, that the Perſon, who built this Bridge, had banked up the River on each ſide with Brick, in ſuch a manner as the River could never overflow; ſo that to make the Bridge five times as long as the Diſtance between theſe two Banks, muſt be a needleſs, not to ſay a ridiculous, piece of Work.

ver, as we came from Bir, *where the River is a great deal ſmaller, we ſaw never a Bridge; wherefore, I ſay, it is admirable which way they could build a Bridge here, where the River is at leaſt* [h] HALF A LEAGUE *broad, and very deep beſides p.* II. c. 7. Sir *Thomas Herbert*, who had been in theſe Parts, and it is probable had taken a View of the River hereabouts, who, tho' he falls into a great many [i] Miſtakes in Matters of Learning, yet he muſt be allowed to be a competent Judge in thoſe things that are the Objects of Senſe, aſſures us, that the *Euphrates* at antient *Babylon* was well nigh double the Breadth of the *Thames* at *London*. That *Xenophon* was

[h] It muſt here be obſerved, that when Travellers mention the Breadth of Rivers, we muſt not take what they ſay to be ſtrictly true: they have no Inſtruments with them to determine Diſtances; and had they Inſtruments, the Generality would not know how to make uſe of them. What *Rauwolf* ſays in this Place, muſt be underſtood as ſpoken very much at large; half a League being 13 *Stadia*. *Diodorus Siculus*, we have ſeen, makes the Bridge over it 5 *Stadia*: Now, as a Bridge is by much more eaſily meaſured than a River, and as *Xenophon* makes it four Stadia at *Thapſacus*, we may ſuppoſe that five Stadia, a little more than half an *Engliſh* Mile, was the Breadth of the *Euphrates* at *Babylon*.

[i] For inſtance, he tells us *that* Ninus *enlarged* Nineveh *the Great upon* Tigris, *formerly called* Nyſib *and* Rauhaboth, *and ſince* Moſul, *being indeed rather the Ruins of* Seleucia. *Pag.* 226. He alſo informs us from *Xenophon*, *that* Cyrus *had* 125 *Millions of Pounds when he marched againſt his Brother* Artaxerxes. *Pag.* 249.

was not miſtaken in the Breadth of the River at *Thapſacus*, and that there is no Error crept into the Text, we may be convinced from what our ingenious Countryman *Maundrel* ſays on the ſame Subject, where he aſſures us, [k] that a long Bullet-Gun could not ſhoot a Ball over the *Euphrates* at *Jerabolus*: This I take to be the [l] ancient *Zeugma*, above 2000 *Stadia*,

[k] Journey from *Aleppo* to *Beer*, *April* 20. where he tells us, that *the River is as broad as the* Thames *at* London; *and that a long Bullet-Gun could not ſhoot a Ball over it, but it dropt into the Water.* By this it appears that it is a great deal broader than the *Thames* at *London*; for a common Fowling-Piece will carry a Ball without any Elevation, more than twice the Breadth of the *Thames* at *Blackwall*. At *London* Bridge the *Thames* is 900 Feet over; now ſuppoſing it 100 Feet more at *Blackwall*, will make it 1000, that doubled is 2000, almoſt $3\frac{1}{2}$ Stadia; ſo that we may conclude this at leaſt to be the Breadth of the *Euphrates* at *Jerabolus*. *Pliny* ſays, *Book* V, *cap.* 24. Arabiam *inde læva*, Oreon *dictam regionem*, *triſchœna menſura*, *dextraque* Commagenem, *diſterminat* (*nempe* Euphrates.) *P. Hardouin* obſerves upon the Place, *Amnem ibi latum eſſe ait ſchœnis tribus.* Now *Pliny* aſſures us, *Book* XII, *cap.* 14. the *Schœnus* conſiſts of 40 *Stadia*, or 5 *Roman* Miles: So that, according to *Hardouin*, the *Euphrates* muſt be 14 *Engliſh* Miles broad at *Bir*. However, as the Sentence will admit another Conſtruction, we have no Occaſion to father ſuch an Abſurdity upon *Pliny*. I do not know whether it is worth while to take Notice of a ſmall Miſtake or two in *Deliſle*'s Maps. He makes the *Euphrates* 500 Feet broad; and the Pyramid near *Lariſſa* upon the *Tigris* 200 Paces high, and 100 Paces ſquare. Whereas *Xenophon* makes the River 4 *Stadia* broad, *i. e.* 500 Paces, or 2500 Feet; and the Pyramid 100 Feet ſquare, and 200 high.

[l] I conclude ſo from the many beautiful Ruins found there, and eſpecially from the Remains of a Bridge ſaid to be thereabouts. *Vide* Maundrel *ubi ſupra.*

Stadia, or 230 Miles higher up the River than *Thapſacus*. So that if it is ſo broad at *Jerabolus*, we cannot think four *Stadia* (not quite half a Mile any thing extraordinary for its Breadth at *Thapſacus*.

As to the Situation of *Babylon*, I confeſs, I can find nothing to determine it with any Exactneſs. Tho' Aſtronomical Obſervations were made there conſtantly for ſeveral Centuries, yet leſs remains (if leſs can remain) of theſe, than of that once ſo famous City. Mr. *Bedford* [m] has reckoned up a great variety of Opinions concerning the Situation of this Place, and at laſt himſelf adheres to one of the worſt. He quotes three of the principal *Arabians*, who, it is highly probable, had every one of them been upon the Spot, and made ſome ſort of Obſervation to determine the Latitude: For as they differ among themſelves, they could not copy from any that went before, nor from one another; and as the Difference is but very ſmall, it might be owing to the Inaccuracy of their Inſtruments. But he chooſes to forſake theſe, and follow *Bochart*,

[m] Scripture Chronology, *Book* I. *cap.* 1.

chart, who places it [n] almoſt a whole Degree further to the North. As to the Longitude, he, again from *Bochart*, makes it 77° 46′. which is a great deal too much: For as the Longitude of *Scanderûn* has been determined [o] to be 55° 25′. ſo upon the foregoing Suppoſition, the Meridian Diſtance between *Babylon* and *Scanderûn* muſt be 22° 21′. which upon a little Examination, will be found very much to exceed the Truth. For Inſtance, from *Scanderûn* to *Aleppo*, is not 60 Miles; which, conſidering the winding of Roads, and the Difference of Latitude, cannot exceed one Degree. From *Aleppo* to *Thapſacus*, *Xenophon* makes 45 *Paraſangas*, which upon this Parallel, the Difference of Latitude above one Degree, cannot make above $2\frac{1}{2}$ Degrees. From *Thapſacus* to *Babylon* was 4800 Stadia, following the Courſe of the *Euphrates*: Now, allowing for the Difference of Latitude, and

[n] The *Arabians* place it 33° 20′. *Bochart* in 34° 15′.

[o] The *French* place *Paris* in 20° Long. and therefore Mr. *Deliſle* makes the Longitude of *Alexandretta* to be but 54° 15′. However, as we reckon *London* 19°. Eaſt from *Ferro*, and *Paris* 2° 25′, from *London*; and as Mr. *Chazelles* found the Meridian Diſtance between *Paris* and *Scanderûn* to be 2[h] 16′, *i. e.* 34°, ſo the true Longitude of *Scanderûn* is 55° 25′.

and Bending of the River, we will ſuppoſe [p] *Babylon* more to the Eaſt by 300 Geographical Miles, (and this I am perſuaded will be thought too much) which being reduced, will be found to be 6 Degrees. So that the Meridian Diſtance between *Scanderûn* and *Babylon*, cannot upon any reaſonable Calculation be ſuppoſed more than [q] $9\frac{1}{2}$ Degrees, which added to the Longitude of *Scanderûn*, makes $64^{\circ}\ 55'$. the Longitude of *Babylon*. *Bochart* therefore has placed this City no leſs than 13 Degrees too far to the Eaſt. As for the *Arabians*, *Eachard*, &c. they followed *Ptole-*

[p] This way of reckoning is in ſome Meaſure confirmed by *Joſephus Antiq.* VIII, *c.* 6, where he ſays, that *Thadomira* (that is *Palmyra*) was one Day's Journey from the *Euphrates*, and ſix from *Great Babylon*: Here, by Day's Journey, is meant the Horſeman's Journey, or 60 Miles: So that from the *Euphrates* over-againſt *Palmyra* to *Babylon* is 300 Miles: But *Thapſacus* ſtands ſomewhat more to the Weſt than this part of the *Euphrates*; that is, the Courſe of the River is S. and by E. and S. S. E. ſo that 300 Geographical Miles muſt be pretty near the true Meridian Diſtance between *Thapſacus* and *Babylon*. *Pliny* indeed affirms, *Book* V, *cap.* 25, that from *Palmyra* to *Seleucia* upon the *Tigris* is 337 Miles; but as other Copies ſay 537, I muſt leave it to the Deciſion of the Critics.

[q] Mr. *Deliſle* makes the Diſtance between *Babylon* and *Scanderûn*, to be pretty near equal to that between *Scanderûn* and *Smyrna*. Now the Meridian Diſtance of the two latter of theſe Places is by Obſervation found to be 9 Degrees: So, as the Difference of Latitude is not material, upon this Computation the Difference of Long. between *Scanderûn* and *Babylon* is 9 Degrees.

Ptolemy, and as he had for the moſt part, nothing but Imagination to determine the Longitude of Places by, it is not to be wondered at, if he generally does it in a manner very wide from the Truth.

AFTER the [r] Battle, and the Death of *Cyrus*, the *Greeks*, tho' victorious, had no hope left, but that of getting back again to their own Country: But to effect this was a matter of conſiderable Difficulty. To return by the ſame way they came, was impoſſible, becauſe all their Proviſions were ſpent, and they were to march thro' the Deſerts of *Arabia*: And they want-

[r] *Plutarch* (in *Artax.*) ſpeaking of the Loſs of this Battle, lays all the Blame upon *Clearchus*, for not, according to *Cyrus*'s Order, bringing his *Greeks* to front the King's Centre: But I think the Conduct of *Clearchus* may be eaſily vindicated. This General very well knew, from the Mock-Encounter at *Tyriæum*, what was to be expected from the reſt of *Cyrus*'s Forces, *viz.* that they would run away at the firſt Onſet, and himſelf with his handful of *Greeks* be left alone to encounter with the King's Army. A handful they might be called with the greateſt Propriety, being 13000 againſt 1200000, (for ſo many the King's Army was ſuppoſed to conſiſt of.) *Clearchus* therefore kept cloſe to the River, with a Deſign not to be ſurrounded by ſuch prodigious Numbers; which, had it happened at the beginning of the Battle, before the *Greeks* had tried the *Perſian* Metal, might have diſheartened his Men, and loſt the Day. Had *Cyrus* relied upon *Clearchus*'s Promiſe, *(viz. that all ſhould go well)* and waited patiently for the Event, all had gone well, he had won the Day, and been King of *Perſia*.

wanted Guides to ſhew them another Road. At laſt they entered into a Truce with the King, one of the Conditions of which was, that he ſhould conduct them ſafe to their own Country. The Officers ſent by the King to perform this, led them thro' the Middle of *Babylonia*, a Country interſected with Canals and Ditches kept full of Water, in order to convince the *Greeks* that all Endeavours to arrive at *Babylon* muſt be in vain, if the People of the Country were their Enemies. I am far from being of Mr. *Spelman*'s Opinion, where he ſuppoſes the Diſtance mentioned by *Xenophon* between the Field of Battle and *Babylon*, 3060 Stadia, to be a Miſtake of the Tranſcriber. The *Perſians*, without doubt, perſuaded them the Diſtance was ſo great, and led them thro' the Country with a Deſign to convince them, that whoever ſhould attempt to march thither, muſt be entirely diſcouraged and baffled by the many Difficulties he would meet with. They were no ſtrangers, it is likely, to *Daniel*'s Prophecies, which were wrote in their Capital and in their Language; and which plainly foretold that

that their Empire ſhould be overturned by the *Greeks*. This they might endeavour to avert by ſuch Arts as I have mentioned; with a Deſign that if any of theſe Soldiers ſhould get back again to *Greece*, (which however they did all in their Power to obſtruct) they ſhould ſpread ſuch an Account among their Countrymen of the Difficulties they had met with, as ſhould for the future put a ſtop to all undertaking of this kind. There can no other Reaſon, I believe, be aſſigned for conducting them to *Sitace*: For it was entirely out of their Way, and they muſt paſs [a] by *Babylon* to arrive at it. This Town ſtood near the *Tigris*, and Part of the Province of *Babylon* was from it called *Sitacene*. *Strabo* ſays, the Road from *Babylon* to *Suſa* lay thro' it. Now, as *Suſa* was near S. E. from *Babylon*, *Sitace* muſt lie beyond *Babylon* from hence, at the Diſtance of 500 Stadia, as the ſame Author informs us. *Xenophon* confirms this, by making it 20 *Paraſangas*, or 600 *Stadia* from *Sitace* to *Opis*, a large trading Town upon the *Tigris* about the Place where *Bagdat* now ſtands.

FROM

[a] I ſuppoſe here that they were conducted to the Left towards the *Tigris*, and not ſuffered to paſs within ſight of *Babylon*.

FROM *Opis* the Army marched up the *Tigris*, till they arrived at the Mountains of the *Carduchians*, at preſent called the *Curdes*, the ſame untractable People, and ſhew the ſame Regard to Travellers they did to theſe *Greek* Wanderers. They ſtrole about upon the Mountains from hence as far as the Springs of the *Euphrates*, and plunder every one they meet with, that is weaker than themſelves. They will be under no ſort of Govern-ment, and pay as little Reſpect to the *Turk*, who pretends to be their Maſter, as their Forefathers did to the Kings of *Perſia*. In all this Tract, I can find very little for a Geographer to exerciſe himſelf upon. If *Rauwolf* had *Xenophon*'s *Anabaſis* along with him, or the Contents of it freſh in his Memory, he might have made ſeveral Remarks, which would have given great Light into our Author; for he travelled over the ſame Ground from *Bagdat* to theſe Mountains.

IT took up the Army ſeven Days to croſs this inhoſpitable Country, wherein they ſuffered more than from all the great Armies of the *Perſian*. At laſt they came

came to the *Centrites*, a River which, in thoſe Days, ſerved as a Boundary between the *Curdes* and *Armenia*. Monſ. *Deliſle* has made this River run Eaſtward, and fall into the [t] Lake of *Van*. I have ventured to turn its Courſe Weſtward; becauſe I take it to be a Branch of the *Lycus*, which, when it falls into the *Tigris*, is ſo very conſiderable a River, that *Rauwolf* [u] ſays, is at leaſt a long Mile broad, and muſt come out of this Country from the Eaſt; for had it come from the North, the *Perſians*, after the Rout at [x] *Arbela*, would have been under no neceſſity of running ſuch Riſks in attempting to paſs it. Beſides, we ought to reflect, that in theſe ſeven Days the *Greeks* could not have travelled more than 70 Miles, conſidering the many Obſtructions they met with in the Country of the *Carduchians*; and that as the Courſe of the *Tigris* is in

theſe

[t] He does not indeed give it any Name in his Maps of this Expedition, but in his other Maps he makes it the Lake of *Van*.

[u] *Part* II. *cap.* 9. This muſt be underſtood with ſome Allowance: *Rauwolf* aſſures us, he was in very great Fear while he forded this River, and therefore might think it four or five times bigger than in reality it is.

[x] This Place is ſtill known by the Name of *Harpel*. *Rauwolf, ubi ſup.*

theſe Parts from the N. W. and the Courſe of the Army to the North, they could not be 50 Miles from the *Tigris*, at the Place where they croſſed the *Centrites*. This River was not a very ſmall one; *Xenophon* makes it 200 Feet broad, and conſequently if it runs towards the Eaſt, muſt riſe at leaſt 30 Miles toward the Weſt; and then what room can we find for the Riſe and Progreſs of ſo large a River as the *Lycus*, which muſt drain the Eaſt for a conſiderable Diſtance?

FROM hence the Army marched over the Plains of *Armenia* to the River *Teleboas*, which Monſ. *Deliſle* in his [y] Diſſertation and Map, in the Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences, intirely overlooks, and paſſes from the [z] Head of the *Tigris*

[y] Entitled, *Determination Geographique de la Situation & de l'Etenduë de Pays traverſés*, &c. in the Memoirs of the Acad. Royal *An.* 1721. p. 56.

[z] Mr. *Deliſle* brings *Herodotus* to prove, that there were in theſe Parts three Rivers of the Name of *Tigris*. This he does in order to ſhew, that the *Greeks* did not approach near the Head of the *Tigris* properly ſo called, *viz.* that which flows by *Diarbekir*; but ſuppoſes it the moſt eaſterly Branch. However, he might have ſaved himſelf a good deal of Trouble, had he attended to *Xenophon*'s Words, who does not ſay they paſſed the Head of the *Tigris*, or were near it; but only, that *they were now advanced above it*. Vol. I. *p.* 268.

Tigris to the *Euphrates*, without taking any Notice of, or laying down any River between them: However, in his large Map publiſhed in the Year 1723, entitled, *Retraite de Dix Mille*, he has rectified this Miſtake, and laid down the *Teleboas* as an Arm of the moſt eaſterly Branch of the the *Euphrates*, which Mr. *Deliſle* has diſcovered from *Ptolemy*, to riſe 50 Leagues to the Winter Eaſt of the Springs above *Ertzrum*, and which he makes the *Greeks* paſs juſt at the Fountain. So that their paſſing of this Branch of the *Euphrates*, muſt be more to the Eaſtward by at leaſt two Degrees than the Meridian of *Ertzrum*: But how little this ſquares with the Situation of theſe Countries, a ſmall Degree of Reflection will convince us. We have ſeen above, that, upon the moſt favourable Calculation, the Longitude of *Babylon* cannot be more than 64° 55′. After the Battle the *Greeks* travelled upon the Banks of the *Tigris*, till they came to the *Carduchian* Mountains: Now, as the Courſe of this River is from the N. W. and W. N. W. ſo they muſt diminiſh the Longitude conſiderably by this long March, *Deliſle*'s Map makes it 3 Degrees;

ſo that they entered the *Carduchians* Country in Longitude 61° 55′. But the Royal Academy of Sciences, of which Mr. *Deliſle* was Geographer, places *Ertzrum* [a] in 68° 45′, ſo that the Sources of the *Euphrates*, which Mr. *Deliſle*, from *Ptolemy*, places 50 Leagues S. E. of *Ertzrum*, muſt be at leaſt in 70° 45′ Longitude. Upon this Suppoſition therefore, the *Greeks* in travelling three Degrees of Latitude, for ſo much Mr. *Deliſle* makes it from their entering the *Carduchians* Country to their fording the *Euphrates*, muſt deviate to the Eaſt no leſs than 9 Degrees; which is quite incredible, eſpecially as *Xenophon* himſelf tells us; and Mr. *Deliſle* repeats his Words, that their Courſe was North.

Again,

[a] This places *Ertzrum* farther to the Eaſt, than any Geographer, I can meet with, will allow: I am ſurprized that neither Mr *D'Anville*, nor the *Engliſh* Editor of *Du Halde*'s *China* in *Folio*, take any Notice at all of this Circumſtance, in determining the Situation of the *Caſpian* Sea. The greateſt Longitude they are willing to allow to *Aſtrakhan*, is but 68° 55′, very little more than this of *Ertzrum*: Whereas there muſt be at leaſt four Degrees difference between them. Obſervations are material Evidences in Geography. The *Acad. Royal* An. 1699, aſſures us, theſe Situations were grounded upon Obſervations. How therefore this Article could ſlip the Notice of Perſons ſo much intereſted in the Diſcovery of it, is to me very ſurprizing. Not but that I have Reaſons (to myſelf very ſtrong ones) to think that thoſe Places are not ſituated ſo far to the Eaſt: However, as there is no reaſoning againſt Facts, I deſiſt.

Again, let us view this Affair in another Light: *Tournefort* informs us, (Vol. II. Let. 6.) that from *Ertzrum* to *Aleppo* is 35 Days Journey; and *Tavernier* (Book II. c. 4.) that from *Bir* to *Mouſul* is but 15 Days Journey. Now as *Bir* is in the Road from *Aleppo* to *Ertzrum*, or very near it, and [b] 4 Days Journey from *Aleppo*, ſo it will be 31 Days Journey from *Bir* to *Ertzrum*. *Bir* is in Lat. 37° 10′. *Ertzrum* in 39° 56′ 35″, and *Mouſul* in about 35° 30′, So that *Ertzrum* is more to the Northward, with reſpect to *Bir*, than *Mouſul* is to the Southward by 1° 6′ 35″, for which we muſt allow 5 Days Journey; therefore *Ertzrum* is more to the Eaſt than *Monſul* by 11 Days Journey. But Mr. *Deliſle* makes the *Greeks* enter the *Carduchian* Mountains a little [c] to the Weſt of *Mouſul*; and conſequently as they travelled North, muſt paſs the *Euphrates* a great deal to the Weſt of *Ertzrum*: Whereas he has laid down their

[b] *Tavernier* ſays, it is 4 Days Journey for the Horſe-Caravan; but then I imagine he muſt reckon the paſſing of the River into the Time. *Book* II. *cap.* 4.

[c] This cannot be; becauſe had they advanced up the *Tigris* as far as *Mouſul*, they muſt have paſſed the *Lycus*, which, as it is larger than any River they paſſed after the *Tigris*, *Xenophon* muſt have taken Notice of it.

their Rout above 200 Miles to the Eaſt of *Ertzrum*. Mr. *Deliſle* tells us of one M. *Duval*, formerly Geographer to the King of *France*, who drew a Map of this Expedition, and laid down the Countries as beſt ſuited his own Notions without any Regard to their true Dimenſions; by which he doubled the *Perſian* Dominions, and made *Aſia Minor* to contain 1500 ſquare Leagues inſtead of 600. How much Mr. *Deliſle* has ſucceeded better, we have in ſome meaſure ſeen above. He quotes P. *Beze's* Authority for the Latitude of *Trebiſond*, but ſays not one Word about the Longitude: The Reaſon of this ſeems to me to be, that if he had, it would have overſet his whole Scheme. He places *Babylon* in 62° Long. the Royal Academy places *Trebiſond* in 65° Long. ſo that had the Places been laid thus down, and the Rout of the Army made ſomewhere towards the North, they muſt have arrived [d] at the *Euxine* a good deal to the Weſt

[d] Eſpecially if we allow, as above, 3 Degrees for their weſting on the Banks of the *Tigris*. There is in *Xenophon* one material Article not taken Notice of by Mr. *Deliſle*, and that is, that where they croſſed the River *Teleboas*, the Country was called the *Weſtern Armenia*: Which Name would but ill ſuit with the Country 200 Miles Eaſt of *Erzrum*.

West of *Trebiſond*. In order to remedy this, he has laid down *Trebiſond* in $57\frac{1}{2}$, and *Ertzrum* in 58; has made the 10000, from the *Carduchian* Mountains, ſteer a N. N. E. Courſe: So that when they came into *Georgia*, they turned to their Left, and travelling afterwards near 300 Miles due Weſt, arrived at *Trebiſond*. Whereas had the *Black Sea* been [c] extended to its due Length, the *Greeks* muſt have arrived at the Shore of it where he places *Taochir*, the Place where he makes them turn to the Left.

I think I may venture to ſay that Mr. *Deliſle* is equally unhappy in his Gueſſes, with reſpect to the ancient Meaſures of the *Greeks*. He compares the Diſtances of Places, mentioned by *Xenophon*, with their true Diſtance determined by Aſtronomical Obſervations. *Xenophon* makes the Diſtance between *Epheſus* and the Gates of *Syria* near equal to that between the Gates of *Syria* and *Babylon*. Modern Ob-

[c] *Arrian*, who meaſured the *Euxine*, makes it from the Mouth of the *Thracian Boſphorus* to *Trebiſond* 7035 *Stadia*; that is, about 805 Miles *Engliſh*. *Tournefort* does not always mention the Diſtances; but by what he ſays, we may gather he made it about 800 Miles; whereas *Tavernier* makes it 970 Miles, and *Gimelli* 900.

Obſervers have diſcovered, that from *Smyrna* (near *Epheſus*) to *Scanderûn* (near the Gates of *Syria*) is pretty near equal to the Diſtance of *Scanderûn* from *Bagdat* (near ancient *Babylon*.) [f] The ſame, he tells us, may be ſaid of their Return from *Babylon* to *Trapezus*: But that compâring theſe Diſtances together, he concludes, that the Meaſures of the antient *Greeks* were much ſmaller than we ſuppoſe them; that a *Stadium* in *Xenophon*'s Days was but about half ſo much as it was in the times of the *Romans*. He ſuppoſes, that in antient Times they made uſe of a common Pace in the Menſuration of Land, which is no more than [g] $2\frac{1}{2}$ Feet; whereas afterwards the Pace was double, *i. e.* 5 Feet. He ſays, what confirms him in this Opinion is, the Quantity of a Degree determined by *Ariſtotle*, who ſays in his Book *De Cœlo*, that the Circumference of the Earth is 400000 *Stadia*, which being reduced, gives $1111\frac{1}{3}$ to each De-

[f] His Meaning is, that upon his Suppoſition it agrees pretty well with modern Obſervations; *i. e.* from *Babylon* to *Trebiſond* is about half ſo much as *Xenophon* makes it.

[g] One Step, or common Stride in walking; whereas the Pace was the Return of the ſame Foot, or two Strides.

Degree. However, upon Examination, we cannot find that *Aristotle* ever determined the Quantity of a Degree, or that it was at all determined in his Days. He is in this Book ſpeaking of the Smallneſs of the Body of the Earth, plainly diſcoverable from the different Elevations of the Stars at different Places, not far diſtant from each other; where he ſays, [h] *That all the Mathematicians who have attempted by Reaſoning to diſcover the Earth's Circumference, affirm that it is* 400000 *Stadia*. All we can gather from hence is, that comparing the different Elevations at ſeveral Places together, they made a Gueſs at the Earth's Periphery. *Strabo* ſeems to intimate, that *Eratoſthenes* was the firſt who applied celeſtial Obſervations to determine the Magnitude of the Earth; and [i] Mr. *Caſſini* is poſitive in this Opinion. However, we will ſuppoſe

[h] Καὶ τῶν μαθηματικῶν ὅσοι τὸ μέγεθος ἀναλογίζεσθαι πειρῶνται τῆς περιφερείας, εἰς τετταρακοντα λέγουσιν εἶναι μυριάδας σταδίων. Which cannot be underſtood that any one had actually meaſured the Contents of a Degree; but only that they had gueſſed at the whole by *Computation* or *Reckoning*.

[i] Acad Royal, *Anno* 1994. *Pliny* call. this Undertaking of *Eratoſthenes*, *Improbum anſum*; but adds, *Verum ita ſubtili argumentatione comprehenſum, ut puderet non credere.* Book II. c. 108.

poſe that *Ariſtotle* did determine the Quantity of a Degree to be 1111$\frac{1}{3}$ of the *Stadia* of his Time, and that *Eratoſthenes* diſcovered it to contain 700 of his Time, it will then of conſequence follow, that between the Days of *Ariſtotle* and *Eratoſthenes*, the *Greek* Meaſures were changed in the ſame Proportion as 1111$\frac{1}{3}$ bears to 700, which is a Suppoſition that will hardly be allowed, when we conſider, that from the Death of the one to the Birth of the other was little more than [k] 40 Years. Beſides, if this Method of Arguing is to take place, there would be no end of altering the Meaſures of Antiquity. *Xenophon* makes it from *Thapſacus* to the Place of Battle 5910 *Stadia*, which with the 500 mentioned by *Plutarch*, makes the Diſtance from *Thapſacus* to *Babylon* 6410 *Stadia*. But in *Ariſtotle*'s Time, *i. e.* at *Alexander*'s Expedition, about 70 Years after *Xenophon* was in this Country, it was found to be 4800; ſo that the Stadium muſt be increaſed near one fourth in this ſpace of Time.

IT

[k] *Ariſtotle* died in the 114th Olympiad, and *Eratoſthenes* was born in the 126th.

IT is very unlucky for Mr. *Deliſle*'s Hypotheſis, that the ancient *Greeks* never made uſe of ſuch a Meaſure as the *Pace*, or had any ſuch Term, that I can find: All their Meaſures were by the *Foot*, and by ſuch Compoſitions of it, as are very well known, ſuch were the *Fathom*, 6 Feet; *Plethrum*, 100; and *Stadium* 600. This laſt was their longeſt Meaſure, and therefore they always compute large Diſtances by it. When the *Greek* Foot was firſt fixt, is like the beginning of moſt other things, I believe, quite unknown; but to be ſure, a great many Centuries before the Times we are treating of. And when the Standard-Meaſure of any Nation is once fixt and becomes current, it is not only needleſs, but extremely difficult, afterwards to alter it. Perhaps nothing leſs than the total Deſtruction of a People, or an univerſal Change of Cuſtoms can effect this. But ſuppoſe for Argument's ſake, we allow that the *Greeks* had ſuch a Meaſure as the *Pace*, and that originally this *Pace* contained $2\frac{1}{2}$ Feet, but afterwards was diſuſed, and the geometrical *Pace*, that of five Feet, took place: yet how could

this affect the *Stadium*, which contained 600 of ſuch Feet as the *Pace* was compoſed of? As the Foot was the Foundation of both, ſo they could have no Influence the one upon the other. Indeed had the *Stadium* been compoſed of a determinate Number of *Paces*, as the *Roman Mile* was, Mr. *Deliſle*'s Argument would have had ſome Shew of Reaſon in it, ſome Probability to ſupport it: But to apply two ſorts of *Paces*, which conſiſted of different Numbers of *Feet*, to the *Stadium* which conſiſted of a determinate Number of *Feet* of the ſame Length, is ſuch an Impropriety, as I am ſurprized ſo ſagacious a Perſon, as Mr. *Deliſle* moſt aſſuredly was, ſhould fall into.

BUT it may be anſwered that the Difficulty ſtill remains. If *Xenophon's* Meaſures are applied to the true Diſtances, determined by Aſtronomy, they will be found double: For from *Epheſus* to the Gates of *Syria*, is made to be about 8000 Stadia; whereas its real Diſtance is not 5000. To this it may be replied, that great Armies with ſuch Numbers of Carriages as they muſt always have with them,

them, cannot go the neareſt Way; they muſt obſerve the Diſpoſition of Mountains and Rivers, and call at Towns a good Diſtance from the direct Road upon the Account of Proviſions. This was undoubtedly the Caſe of the Army before us, which if joined to what I ſaid above about their *Perſian* Guides, may give a tolerable Account why the Diſtances are ſo magnified, in their March from *Epheſus* to *Babylon*. But in their Return the Caſe is very different: At this time they reckoned for themſelves, and if we take the Diſtance from *Opis* (near which *Bagdat* now ſtands) to their paſſing the *Euphrates* below *Ertzrum*, we ſhall find, allowing for their Courſe Weſtward along the Bank of the *Tigris*, I ſay we ſhall find it correſpond pretty near with the Aſtronomical Obſervations.

WHEREABOUTS they paſſed the *Euphrates*, I cannot take upon me to ſay; but we have ſeen above, that it muſt be conſiderably to the Weſt of *Ertzrum*, below the Junction of its two

[1] two Branches; for had they paſſed two Rivers by the Name of *Euphrates*, *Xenophon* would certainly have taken Notice of it. Indeed he ſays the Springs of this River were not far off; but he ſpeaks not of his own Knowledge, and ὡς πρόσω is an intermediate Expreſſion, which does not at all fix the Diſtance; beſides, the River was ſo deep, that it reached up to their Middle, which is very conſiderable, as it was in the Depth of Winter, the Snow lay upon the Ground, and conſequently

[1] I cannot paſs without taking Notice of a Miſtake in *Tournefort*: who ſays, *Vol.* II. *Let.* 6. that one of theſe Branches runs a Day's Journey to the South of *Erzrum*, the other a Day and a half, or two Days Journey to the North of it: Whereas he has told us but juſt before, that the Bridge of *Elijah* is but about ſix Miles from *Erzrum*. It is well known, that in the Eaſt, great Diſtances are meaſured by Days Journeys; ſmall Ones by Hours: It is therefore probable, that in diſcourſing about the Country, he was told it was ſo many Hours Journey; Which he put down *Journé*, without diſtinguiſhing it from a Day's Journey. *Calmet* ſays, that *Strabo* and *Pliny* differ from each other almoſt in every thing concerning the *Euphrates*. For that *Pliny* repreſents it firſt running to the South, and then to the Weſt; whereas *Strabo* affirms, that it firſt runs Weſt, and then South. However, upon Examination, I believe, they will be found to agree exactly; and that *Calmet* has miſtaken *Pliny*'s Meaning. This great Naturaliſt, *B.* V. *c.* 24. compares Mount *Taurus* and the *Euphrates*, to two great Champions, contending with each other: That the Mountain, tho' 12 Miles broad, is not able to ſtop the River; but however, prevails ſo far, as not to ſuffer it to have its Way, but diverts it to the South, whereas before its Courſe was Weſtward.

quently could be ſupplied with no Water, but from Springs.

FROM the *Euphrates* they proceeded ſtill North for three Days. We are certain that their Courſe was North, becauſe our Author informs us, that ἄνεμος Βορέας ἐναντίος ἔπνει, *viz.* that *the North Wind blew full in their Faces*, in ſo fierce a manner as *to ſcorch and benumb the Men.* Now had they not thought themſelves under a Neceſſity of travelling North, they would never have choſe to face ſo terrible a Wind as this. They ſtill proceeded one Day farther; we muſt naturally conclude towards the ſame Point of the Compaſs: And then put themſelves under the Conduct of the Bailiff of the Village.

AND here we meet with the greateſt Difficulty in the whole Book. [m] *Erzerum* is but five Days Journey from the *Euxine*; and the *Greeks* where they paſſed the *Euphrates* could not be much farther from it. We have ſeen they marched to the Northward 3 Days 15 Parafangas; and ano-

[m] *Tournefort*, Vol. II. Let. 6.

another Day, the Diſtance not mentioned, (ſuppoſe 5 Paraſangas) which amount to above 60 Miles: So that they muſt be at this time half-way to the Coaſt of the *Black Sea*. Inſomuch that, had they kept ſtill on in the ſame Courſe, they muſt in 3 or 4 Days more have arrived at *Cerazunt*, *Trebiſond*, or ſomewhere thereabouts. But, inſtead of this, we find they made it no leſs than 45 Days march, and ſeveral of theſe very long ones, before they came to *Trebiſond*. This is very ſurprizing, and the more ſo, when we conſider, that from the Sources of the *Euphrates* to the Banks of the *Caſpian*, is not more than 13 Days Journey. So that theſe Wanderers were encloſed between the *Euxine*, the *Caſpian*, the *Euphrates*, and Mount *Caucaſus*: And how they could make ſuch Marches for forty-five Days together, in this ſpace, is, I confeſs, entirely beyond my Comprehenſion.

WE find after the Battle, when the *Greeks* were without Guides, that they directed themſelves [a] by the Sun; and *Xeno-*

[a] Vol. I. page 128.

Xenophon in his Speech to the Army, in the fifth Book *(Vol.* II. *p.* 60.*)* plainly ſhews, that they underſtood their Compaſs well enough to know the four principal Points. How therefore they could be ſo prodigiouſly miſled, is very ſtrange. However we muſt remember, that in After-times when theſe Parts were better known, *Artavaſdes* the King of this Country, abuſed *Anthony* [o] by miſleading him. We muſt conſider alſo, that when the *Greeks* were in this Country it was the Middle of Winter, my Account makes it *January*, and that theſe Countries are at this time of the Year extremely ſubject to Fogs; ſo that they might not ſee the Sun for ſeveral Days together: And conſequently the old Bailiff, like a true Subject of the King of *Perſia*, might take ſuch an Opportunity to miſlead them, in order to diſtreſs and deſtroy them. It is highly probable it was this that made him run away, and leave his Son behind him: [p] For had he done his Duty, it is not

[o] *B.* XI. *p.* 524. Where he ſays, he led him round about more than double the direct Way, ἐποίησε πολὺν ἢ διπλασίαν τῆς εὐθείας, διὰ ὀρέων, καὶ ἀνοδίων, καὶ κυκλοπορείας.

[p] That is, had he conducted them to Towns where they could get Proviſions. But inſtead of this, he carried them

not at all likely, that he would have left his Son in ſuch Circumſtances. He might have ſome Ambition in him, though his Eſtate was but low; though he was but the Superior of a [q] *Troglodyte* Village, yet he might hope that the ſacrificing of a Son might raiſe him to the Government of a Province; as we ſee great Numbers of Garreteers among us, who think themſelves qualified to be at leaſt Miniſters of State.

AFTER the *Greeks* had loſt their Guide, they marched 7 Days 35 Parafangas and arrived at the *Phaſis*. This Mr. *Deliſle* ſtrives [r] to prove is the *Araxes*. But them into deſolate Countries where he concluded they muſt of courſe be ſtarved; where the firſt People they could meet with were the *Taochians* and *Chalybians*, who kept all their Proviſions in ſuch Faſtneſſes, as the Bailiff might imagine it was impoſſible for them to force. And indeed he was not much miſtaken in his Aim; for had they not with great Courage, and no ſmall Addreſs ſtormed the *Taochian* Mountain, it is more than probable, they had every one periſhed with Hunger.

[q] The Villages of this Country do retain the ſame Form to this day: *Gimelli*, *P.* I. *B.* 3. *c.* 3. tells us, He was in diſpute with himſelf, whether to call the Houſes *Caves* or *Stables*; *for they are dug out of the Earth*: That *the Roofs are upon a Level with the Surface of the Earth*; *and that the Men and Beaſts lodge together in them.*

[r] The Main of his Argument conſiſts in this, that *Conſtantine Porphyrogonetes* ſays, that the *Phaſis* run near *Theodoſipolis*,

But by what is ſaid above, it is quite improbable they could deviate ſo far to the Eaſt. And to ſuppoſe they came to the *Araxes*, after they had paſſed the *Euphrates*, is ſtill more unlikely; becauſe theſe two Rivers riſe out of the ſame Mountain, about [s] ſix Miles diſtant from each other; the *Euphrates*, runs Weſt, and the *Araxes* Eaſt, and then South-Eaſt. Now, as the *Greeks* had paſſed the *Euphrates*, and travelled Northward four Days, they muſt have left the *Araxes* ſo far behind them, that it is very unlikely they could ever come back again to it. I would rather for the preſent, till this Country is better diſcovered, ſuppoſe it to be the noted *Colchian Phaſis*. *Strabo* affirms, that this River has its Source in *Ar-*

doſipolis, that it parted his Empire from *Iberia*, and was likewiſe called *Erax*. Now *Theodoſipolis* ſtood near the Place where *Erzrum* now ſtands; and therefore if the *Colchian Phaſis* riſes ſomewhere in this Country, and flows North, it would run as near that City as the *Araxes* could do, and would naturally ſerve as a Boundary between *Iberia* and the *Greek* Empire. As to the Name, it proves very little, for as *Aras* ſignifies a Rapid Stream, the *Perſians* applied it to a great many Rivers.

[s] *Pliny* Book VI. cap. 9. ſays, Araxes *eodem monte oritur, quo* Euphrates VI. *Mill. Paſſuum intervallo*. Which is confirmed in ſome meaſure by *Tournefort*, who tells us, *Vol.* II. *L.* 7. that the *Araxes* runs by *Aſſancala*, which is but ſix Hours from *Erzrum*.

Armenia, [t] Φάσις μέγας ποταμὸς ἐξ Αρμενίας τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχων. *Dionyſius* the Geographer ſays,

——————————— Φάσις
Αρξάμενος τὸ πρῶτον ἀπ' ὄρεος Αρμενίοιο.

So that the Ancients, who knew theſe Countries much better than we do, gave the *Phaſis* a very different Riſe to what is aſſigned it by the Moderns, placing its Source in the Mountains of *Armenia*, probably, by what they ſay of its long Courſe, not at a great Diſtance from the Fountains of the *Euphrates* and *Araxes*, eſpecially as *Dionyſius* calls it, *the Armenian Mountain*, out of which the *Euphrates* riſes.

THIS will appear ſtill the more probable, if we ſeriouſly attend to what *Moſes* ſays in his Deſcription of *Paradiſe*, *Gen.* ii. *v.* 10, *&c.* where he informs us, that a *River proceeded out of* Ngeden *to water the Garden*; *and there* משם, in that Place, *i. e.* in the Garden *it was divided and became into four Heads* ראשים, *Capita*, as the *Latin* accurately expreſſes it: *The Name*

[t] *B.* X. *p.* 498. and again *B.* XI. *p.* 529. he ſays, Ποταμοὶ δὲ πολίους μέν εἰσιν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ· γνωριμώτατοι δὲ Φάσις μὲν καὶ Λύκος.

Name of the firſt Phiſun, *which encompaſſes the whole Country of* [u] Khoilh, (for ſo it is written in the Original, or perhaps *Khoilkh*,) *where there is Gold, and the Gold of that Country is good; there is alſo* the בדלח *and the Stone* שהם. All which particulars, *viz.* the Name of the River, for *Phiſun* and *Phaſis* are very near the ſame, the Name of the Country, and the Products of it, do plainly point out the *Colchian Phaſis*, we are now treating of. The Ancients are ſo full of the *Colchian* Gold, that it would be endleſs to quote all they ſay upon this Subject. The bare mentioning the *Argonautic* Expedition (whether real or fictitious) will be ſufficient to perſuade any one that *Colchis* was formerly noted for the beſt Gold: What *Pliny* [x] ſays of it may convince us, that the Character *Moſes* gives of it is juſt, where he tells us, that *the Gold of that Country is good*. As to the בדלח it is ſuppoſed

[u] I can find nothing to convince me, that the *Hebrews* ever uſed the ו as a *Conſonant*. The ב pronounced ſoft, as ſome *European* Nations do at preſent, ſupplied the Place of *V*. Thus תובל קין *Thubal Cain* is *Vulcan*; שבע *ſhebang* is *ſeven*, and the like. The ו is, I imagine, the *Waw*, the *o* or *u* of the Eaſt, and is always uſed as a *Vowel*.

[x] *B.* xxxiii. *c.* 3.

poſed by the moſt learned Writers, both Jews and Chriſtians, to ſignify *Cryſtal*, and שֹׁהַם *Emeralds*; both which the Ancients make *Scythia*, the Country about *Phaſis*, famous for. *Solinus* [y] informs us, that *though Cryſtal was the Produce of ſeveral Parts of* Europe, *and ſome Places in* Aſia, *yet that of* Scythia *was the moſt valuable.* And *Pliny* mentions the Emeralds of *Scythia* in ſuch ſtrong Terms, that I muſt beg leave to tranſcribe his Words, it not being an eaſy matter to tranſlate them. [z] *Nobiliſſimi* Scythici, *ab eâ gente, in qua reperiuntur, appellati: nullis major auſteritas, nec minus vitii: & quantum* Smaragdi *a ceteris gemmis diſtant, tantum* Scythici *a ceteris Smaragdis.*

IT may be objected againſt what I have here ſaid, that it is entirely improbable four Rivers ſhould have the ſame Source, and that accordingly theſe four, which I ſuppoſe the Rivers of Paradiſe, *viz.* the *Phaſis*, the *Aras*, the *Tigris*, and the *Phrat*, have their Sources at a conſider-

[y] *C.* xv. ſpeaking of *Scythia*, *Iſtic* & Cryſtallus, *quem licet pars major* Europæ & *particula* Aſiæ *ſubminiſtrat, pretioſiſſimum tamen* Scythia *edit.*

[z] *B.* xxxvii. *c.* 5.

ſiderable Diſtance from one another. To this I anſwer, that the Time *Moſes* ſpeaks of, was before the Flood, when the Surface of the Earth was very different from what it is at preſent: For that the univerſal Deluge wrought prodigious Changes in the outward Parts of this Globe, I think, is manifeſt from the very ruinous Appearance of Mountains, the unequal Diſpoſition of their Parts, (I mean, the heavieſt Bodies mixt with and often placed above the lighteſt) and Seaſhells found in great Quantities, and ſurprizing Varieties upon ſome of the higheſt of them. Should I attempt to explain the Cauſe and Manner of theſe Alterations, or to write a *Geographical Diſſertation* upon the *Antediluvian* Earth, what Fate could I expect, when ſo many great Men have handled this Subject with ſo little ſucceſs?

I am ſenſible the Current of Learned Men is againſt me, who almoſt all agree, that *Paradiſe* was ſituated about the Place where *Babylon* afterwards ſtood; that the *Tigris* and *Euphrates* meet near that Place, and afterwards part again: And there-

therefore that the Heads mentioned by *Moſes*, are thoſe two Partings, making four Diviſions; the two upper being *Hiddekil* and *Phrat*, the two lower *Phiſon* and *Gihon*. But with due Submiſſion to thoſe great Names, who have eſpouſed this Opinion, I believe, it is founded upon a [a] Miſtake: For that the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*

[a] The Original of this Miſtake ſeems to me to come from *Pliny* who ſays, that the *Euphrates* is divided; (*Vid. pag.* xx.) that one Branch falls into the *Tigris* at *Seleucia*, the other runs thro' *Babylon*, and is loſt in the Bogs. However, in another Place he informs us, that this Part of the River which run through *Seleucia*, was an artificial Canal. *Book* VI. *cap.* 28. he calls it *Foſſa*, and tells us who it was that made it. This was known afterwards by the Name of *Naar Malcha*, the *King's River*. *Strabo* tells us, the Land was ſo rotten that the Canals, which circulated the Water, were very ſubject to fill up; ſo that *Alexander* cauſed new ones to be made. At the Junction of one of theſe with the *Tigris*, *Seleucia* was built: *Trajan* and *Severus* afterwards cleanſed this Canal for the Paſſage of their Fleets to the *Tigris*. *Ammianus Marcellinus* Lib. xxiv. cap. 6. ſays, *Id. (viz. flumen Regium*, which he alſo calls *foſſile Flumen) antehac* Trajanus, *poſteaque* Severus, *egeſto ſolo, ſodiri in modum Canalis ampliſſimi Studio curaverat ſummo, ut aquis illuc ab Euphrate transfuſis, naves ad Tigridem commigrarent.* Notwithſtanding which, when *Julian* the Apoſtate came hither, he was forced to cleanſe it. *Zoſimus* indeed ſays, (*B.* III.) the *King's River* had Water in it, but not enough to carry the Emperor's Fleet, without being cleanſed: Whereas *Amm. Marcell* poſitively affirms that it was quite dry. All which plainly proves that this was not the natural Courſe of the River. *Rauwolf* and *Herbert* both affirm that theſe two Rivers meet a little below *Babylon*, but as they took it upon Truſt, we muſt believe *Tavernier*, who was an Eye-witneſs. Beſides, did the Rivers join ſo near *Bagdat*,

Tigris do not meet together, till a great many hundred Miles below *Babylon*: Nay, it is positively affirmed by the Ancients that originally they did not meet at all, but had their Channels distinct quite to the Sea; and that the [b] Inhabitants of the Country by stopping up the *Euphrates*, in order to water their Lands, diverted its Course, and turned it into the *Tigris*. In this manner were the *Rhine* and the *Mease* joined together by an Earthquake in later Times. *Tavernier*, who himself sailed down the *Tigris*, makes the present [c] Junction of these two Rivers to be at *Gorno*, at the Distance of 145 Leagues, or 435 Miles from *Bagdat*, only fifteen Leagues from *Balsora*. Indeed *Della Valle* and the *East-India Pilot* make the River to part again, and fall into the *Persian* Gulf by two Mouths: But

dat, why do they complain of selling their Boats for a trifle at *Elago?* They might carry them to *Bagdat*, and have as good a Market for them, as any in the East. But the Truth is, the Canals are choaked up, and there is no getting thither in a Boat, but by going above 800 Miles round about.

[b] *Pliny* B. VI. c. 27. *Inter duorum amnium ostia* xxv *mill. passuum fuere, aut (ut alii tradunt)* vii *mill. utroque navigabili: sed longo tempore* Euphratem *præclusere* Orcheni *& accolæ agros rigantes; nec nisi* Pasitigri *defertur in mare.*

[c] *B.* II. *c.* 8.

But then whoever conſiders the Situation of the Country; that it is near the Sea and marſhy, that the River is three or four Miles broad, and that it overflows the adjacent Country every Year, will think it a very improper Place to make a Garden of, for the Entertainment and Delight of man in his State of Innocence. *Moſes* indeed ſays, that this Garden was in the Eaſt from the Place he wrote in, that is, from *Arabia Petræa*: But this will prove nothing at all; becauſe the *Hebrews* took no Notice of the intermediate Points: So that when a Place lay any where towards the Eaſt, they ſaid it was ſituated מקדם *in the Eaſt*; in the ſame manner as we ſay, that *Riga*, *Revel*, and *Peterſburgh* are in the Eaſt Country. *Job* ſays, that *Gold cometh out of the North*, meaning, without doubt, the Gold of the *Phaſis*: But then we muſt conſider, that *Job* lived a great deal further Eaſt, than where *Moſes* wrote, bordering upon the *Sabeans* and *Chaldeans*, and conſequently would have the *Colchians* near full North.

BUT to return from this long, and, I am

am afraid, tedious Digreſſion. The *Greeks*, after they had paſſed the *Phaſis*, wandered into Countries, of which there are but few Marks at preſent to know them by. There is indeed a Province of *Georgia* called *Taochir*, which, as it has a plain Reſemblance to the *Taochians*, and as the *Greeks*, muſt be in theſe Parts, it may be preſumed to have been formerly inhabited by this People. Who the *Chalybians* were, or where they lived, I can find nothing remaining. What Mr. *Hutchinſon* [d] quotes from *Strabo*, that Χαλδαῖοι Χάλυβες τὸ παλαιὸν ὠνομάζοντο, is plainly meant of the *Chalybians* in the next Book, who, as Mr. *Hutchinſon* himſelf allows were very diſtant both in Country and Manners, from the People the *Greeks* had to deal with in this Place.

AFTER this they came to the River *Harpaſus*. I do allow with *Deliſle*, that there is a River of this Name in this Country, which *Tournefort* calls [e] *Arpagi*, and makes to fall into the *Araxes*: But how

[d] Differt. p. xiv.

[e] So that Mr. *Hutchinſon* had no Occaſion to correct *Diodorus*.

how to bring the *Greeks* hither, and where to assign them the long Marches they had before performed, is, I confess, quite above my Sphere. To do any thing tolerable in this particular, we must wait till this Country is perfectly discovered; and whenever there shall be a compleat Map of it exhibited to the World, we may venture to affirm, that then the Learned will be able to lay down the March of this Army with some Accuracy. The next People the *Greeks* met with in their Progress were the *Scythinians*; probably the same with those *Scythians*, [f] whom *Diodorus* places in this Country. From hence they came to a City called *Gymnias*; of which I can meet with nothing, but that the same is called *Gymnasia* by *Diodorus*. At this Place they were furnished with a Guide, who was more just to them than the Bailiff had been; for in five [g] Days he conducted them to the Top of a Mountain, from whence

[f] *B.* II. *c.* 43. Τὸ μὲν δὴ πρῶτον (sc. Σκύθαι) παρὰ τὸν Ἀράξην ποταμὸν ὀλιγοι κατωκουν παντελῶς καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀδοξίαν καταφρονύμενοι.

[g] *Diodorus Siculus* says 15 Days: But in this, and several other particulars, he differs so much from *Xenophon*, that I suspect, in drawing up of the Account of this Expedition he made use of some other Author.

whence they could plainly discern the Sea. A Sight they had long desired! In a short Time after this they arrived at [h] *Trebisond*, a *Greek* City; and keeping near the Sea-shore, marched, all that were able, to *Cotyora*.

AND here *Xenophon* puts an End to his Journey; making this the Conclusion of the Κατάβασις (*Retreat*,) as the Place of Battle was of the Ἀνάβασις (*Expedition.*) The Reason of this is, because they afterwards sailed much the greatest Part of their Way to *Greece*.

XENOPHON himself says, that from the Field of Battle in *Babylonia* to *Cotyora* they made 8 Months: And in the Conclusion he informs us, that the whole Expedition and Retreat took up 15 Months. Now whoever will be at the pains to compute the Marches and Halts from *Sardes* to the Battle, will find them to amount to exactly 6 Months: But as *Xenophon* begins the Expedition from *Ephesus*, we should reckon the Time from the same Place. Therefore allowing

[h] I take no Notice of the Places they touched at, because Mr. *Spelman*'s Notes are as full as can be desired.

ing something for their March to, and stay at *Sardes*; their [i] consulting and passing the *Cilician* Mountains; their [k] Stay and Quarrel at *Carmande*; and the [l] Affair of *Orontas*, (where the Sooth-sayer's ten Days plainly shew the Time not accounted for:) I say, allowing for these, as *Xenophon* has said nothing about their Continuance, we cannot think a Month too long a time for them all: Which will make just 15 Months from their Departure from *Ephesus* to their Arrival at [m] *Cotyora*. Our Author's placing this Account at the End of his Book, has induced all the learned Men, I can meet with, to suppose, that the whole of their Transactions, from their first setting out to their joining of *Thimbron*, took up no more than 15 Months. This has introduced still a worse Mistake, by misplacing the Year of the Expedition in all the Chronological Tables. *Diodorus Siculus*

[i] Vol. I. page 25.

[k] Page 60, &c.

[l] Page 67, &c.

[m] What puts this beyond all Dispute, are the Distances, which are only computed to *Cotyora*: For from *Ephesus* to the Battle are 16050, and from the Battle to *Cotyora* 18600 Stadia, in all 34650, the whole Sum mentioned by *Xenophon* at the End of the Book, without taking any Notice of their Travels after they left *Cotyora*.

culus places the Expedition in the laſt of the 94th *Olympiad*; and *Thimbron*'s paſſing over into *Aſia*, to make War upon *Tiſſaphernes*, in the firſt of the 95th *Olympiad*, and all have followed him, as far as I can perceive, without examining into the Affair. However, it is moſt certain, that from their Departure under *Cyrus*, to their Junction with *Thimbron*, was very near, if not quite, two full Years: And conſequently that the Year of the Expedition ought to be fixed in the 3d of the 94th *Olymp.* and this will account for the Chaſm or Non-action, which Mr. *Spelman* has [n] diſcovered in *Diodorus*, that Year. In order to make out what I advance, I reckon up the Time thus, *viz.*

	Months.
From *Epheſus* to the Battle, - -	7
From the Battle to *Cotyora*, - -	8
From their Arrival at *Cotyora*, to their Joining *Seuthes* (upon a moderate Computation,) - -	6
Serve under *Seuthes*, - - -	2
From their leaving *Seuthes* to their joining *Thimbron*, muſt be near.	2
	25

The

[n] Introduction, *P.* xxxiii.

The two Months, they ſerved under *Seuthes*, were in the middle of Winter, (ſuppoſe *December* and *January*) which is the only Mention of the Seaſon of the Year in the whole Book. From hence we may gather, that the Battle was fought about the latter End of *September*; that they were in Snows of *Armenia* about the Beginning of *January*, came to *Trebiſond* towards the End of *February*, and arrived at *Cotyora* about the Beginning of *June*. They ſet out from hence towards the latter end of *July*, joined *Seuthes* at the End of *November*, and were incorporated with the Troops under *Thimbron*, the *March* following, two full Years from their firſt Departure from *Epheſus*, to ſerve under *Cyrus*. The *Greeks*, it is well known, began their Year from the ° Summer Solſtice. Therefore, as this Army returned when *Thimbron* paſſed over into *Aſia*, (as is plain from *Xenophon*) that is, in the Spring of the firſt of the 95th *Olympiad*; ſo it is apparent, that *Cyrus* muſtered his Forces, and departed from *Sardes* in the Spring of the third of the 94th *Olympiad*; which was two Years before their Junction with the *Lacedæmonian*

° That is, the firſt Month after the Summer Solſtice.

monian General. Archbiſhop *Uſher* plainly ſaw ſome difficulty in this particular; for in repeating *Xenophon*'s Words, where he tells us, they were eight Months from the Battle to *Cotyora*, this learned Prelate ſays, [p] *it ought to be five, as the Courſe of the Hiſtory afterwards requires*; meaning, without doubt, that out of the fifteen Months, mentioned by *Xenophon*, at the end of the Book, ſome Time ought to be allowed for their Tranſactions between their arrival at *Cotyora*, and their joining the *Lacedæmonians*. But, with all due Reſpect be it ſpoken, three Months is not ſufficient for this by a great deal: For Inſtance, they ſtayed at *Cotyora* forty-five Days, and ſerved under *Seuthes* two Months, beſides a very conſiderable Train of Actions both before and after; all of which together could not, according to my Computation take up much leſs than ten Months. But further, if we collect the Days from the Field of Battle, to their Arrival at *Cotyora*, as they lie ſcattered in *Xenophon*, we ſhall find more than ſeven Months accounted for, beſides two or three Places where Time is not ſtrictly men-

[p] Cotyora *venerant octo (vel quinque potius, ut Series Hiſtoriæ poſtulare videtur) poſt pugnam menſibus.*

mentioned: Which plainly ſhews that no Error can be crept into the Text; but that eight Months was the Time they ſpent in this March.

IT is true indeed that the Battle was fought in the 4th of the 94th *Olympiad*; but then it was in the beginning of it: Whereas *Diodorus* affirms, that *Cyrus* [q] hired his Mercenaries, ſent to the *Lacedæmonians* for Aſſiſtance, muſtered his Army at *Sardes*, and began his March this ſame Year; ([r] ſuppoſing, without doubt, that they ſpent but 15 Months in the whole of their Travels) all which, as I think I have proved beyond all Contradiction, ought to be placed in the third of the 94th Olympiad, *Micion* being *Archon* of *Athens*.

AT *Cotyora* they took Shipping, and ſailed to *Harmene*, a Port near *Sinope*: And from thence to *Heraclea*. In this ſecond

[q] *Uſher* copies *Diodorus* in all theſe Particulars; and yet afterwards ſays, *commiſſa pugna eſt ſub initium Anni 4 Olympiadis* XCIV.

[r] He ſuppoſes that *Cyrus*, having ſpent the Summer and Winter in preparing for the Expedition, ſet out in the Spring of the 4th of the 94th Olympiad, and that the *Greeks* returned late in the Spring following.

ſecond Trip *Xenophon* informs us, that they ſaw the Mouths of ſeveral Rivers: firſt, that of the *Thermodon*; then of the *Halys*; and after this, that of the *Parthenius*: Whereas it is moſt certain that the *Thermodon* and *Halys* are a great way on the other ſide of *Sinope*, and conſequently *Xenophon* muſt have ſeen the Mouths of them in the former Run, that is, from *Cotyora*, to *Harmene*. This will render what I hinted at above very probable, *viz.* that our Author kept no regular Journal of this Expedition; for if he had, where could he have more Leiſure to write than on Board, where he could have nothing elſe to do, there being Pilots to ſteer the Courſe, and Sailors to manage the Ships?

IT is evident from the Digreſſion in the fifth Book [a] about *Diana*'s Offering, that our Author did not write [b] this Hiſtory

[a] Vol. II. p. 20.

[b] This Work came out under the Name of *Themiſtogenes* of *Syracuſe*; and *Xenophon* himſelf refers to it under this Title in the 2d Book of his Hiſtory: But the World was ſoon convinced who was the true Author; for there are not only ſeveral Paſſages in it which *Xenophon* himſelf alone could know; but it is likewiſe penned with ſo much Harmony and Sweetneſs as could flow from no

History in its present Form, till several Years after his Return from the Expedition: for he there makes mention of his Sons going a Hunting; whereas it is pretty plain that at the Time we are speaking of, [u] he had no Children. He staid in *Asia*, with the Troops till *Agesilaus* was recalled, and after the Battle of *Chonorea* he retired to *Scilus*. This Battle was fought in the 2d of the 96th *Olympiad*, near five Years after his Return from the Expedition. In this Interval he married and had two Sons; and when these were grown up, which we must suppose would take up about twenty Years, [x] he wrote this Account of the other, than the *Attic Bee*. Indeed it is the Opinion of some learned Men, that *Themistogenes* did write an Account of the Expedition, which *Xenophon* refers to, as above: But that he afterwards wrote one himself; which is the Work we have now extant. However, we shall find this very unlikely when we reflect that our Ἀνάβασις was wrote while *Xenophon* lived in ease and peace at *Scilus*, and his Sons were alive: whereas his *Greek* History was not drawn up till after the Battle of *Mantinea*; when *Scilus* was destroyed, *Xenophon* removed to *Corinth*, and one of his Sons slain: So that *Scilus* was destroyed some time before this *Battle*, so the Expedition must be written before the *Greek* History.

[u] Vol. II. p. 219.

[x] It is probable he wrote this History to vindicate his Honour, and published it under another Name to avoid the Imputation of Vanity. There were other Accounts,

the Tranſactions of the *Greeks* in Upper *Aſia*. So that if ſome ſome trivial Matters have ſlipt his Memory, it is not at all to be wondered at, ſince it was penned ſo many Years after the Affairs it mentions, were tranſacted.

AND here I cannot forbear to expreſs ſome Doubt, concerning our Author's Age at the Time we are treating of. *Diogenes Laertius* affirms that he died in the 1ſt of the 105th Olympiad; and *Lucian*, that he lived to be upwards of 90 Years of Age. So, when he accompanied *Cyrus* into *Aſia*, he muſt be at leaſt 51: which to me ſeems quite irreconcileable with the Account he gives us of himſelf. When their Commanders were all deſtroyed, the *Greeks* were under great Anxiety, as being in the Heart of the *Perſian* Empire, in the Neighbourhood of

it is likely, of this Expedition, which either blamed his Conduct, or were ſilent as to his Merit: What confirms me in this Opinion, is the Relation which *Diodorus Siculus* gives of the ſame Tranſactions; which not only varies from *Xenophon* in abundance of Particulars, but never mentions his Name, where he moſt deſerves it, *viz.* in conducting the moſt memorable Retreat, that ever was performed in any Period of Time. This he attributes to *Cheiriſophus*, by ſaying that *he was choſen General* B. XIV. c. 5. The only time I can find he mentions *Xenophon*'s Name, is his warring againſt the *Thracians*. B. XIV. c. 6.

of a great Army, and all their beſt Officers murdered. The Army was ſo diſpirited, that no one ſeemed to take any Care for its Preſervation. *Xenophon* revolving theſe things in his Mind, ſays to himſelf, [y] *Do I ſtay for the Arrival of a General from* Greece *to take the Command upon him? Or do I wait for Years to accompliſh myſelf? But I ſhall in vain hope to grow older, if I this Day ſurrender myſelf up to the Enemy.* He therefore immediately calls up the Captains who had ſerved under his Friend *Proxenus*, and propoſes the Election of Officers in the Room of thoſe that were put to Death; and concludes his Speech, with ſaying, that if they ſhould chooſe him for their Commander, *he would not excuſe himſelf by reaſon of his Age.* Theſe two Paſſages compared with *Phalinus* calling him *BOY* [z] in the ſecond Book, and his taking Notice of himſelf frequently as the youngeſt Officer, do almoſt prevail upon me to think, that he was no more than

[y] Ἐγὼ ἐν τὸν ἐκ ποίας πόλεως στρατηγὸν προσδοκῶ ταῦτα πράξειν; ποίαν δ' ἡλικίαν ἐμαυτῷ ἐλθεῖν ἀναμένω; ἡ γὰρ ἐγωγ' ἔτι πρεσβύτερος. ἔσομαι, ἐὰν τήμερον προδῶ ἐμαυτὸν τοῖς πολεμίοις; where it is plain by πρεσβύτερος, that he looked upon himſelf as too young to command.

[z] Vol. I. p. 120.

than 23 or 24 Years of Age; his Beard not fully grown, and therefore he might with ſome Propriety be called *BOY*. *Proxenus* was but 30 when put to Death, and conſequently we muſt ſuppoſe *Xenophon* to be leſs, when he talks of excuſing his Age to the Officers who ſerved under *Proxenus*; elſe what he ſaid muſt have been looked upon as a Banter upon the Years of his Friend, and upon the Men who ſerved under ſuch a Boy. It may be anſwered, that as the *Athenians* never preſſed Men into their Armies, who were above the Age of 40, ſo *Xenophon* might ſay he would not refuſe the Command by pleading this Cuſtom: But this will be found to ſquare but very indifferently with all the other Particulars; for had he been upwards of 50, he had been older than *Clearchus*, [a] whom all the reſt ſubmitted to of courſe, and conſequently can never be ſuppoſed to be the youngeſt Commander, when new ones were choſen. Beſides, it is not credible, that a Man would go Volunteer in ſuch an

[a] *Vol.* I. *p.* 125. As the oldeſt Officer, the reſt being without Experience: If we may gueſs at the reſt by the Ages of thoſe mentioned, they muſt all be young Men. *Proxenus* was but 30, *Agias* and *Sacrates* about 40, when put to Death.

an Expedition as this, that is, to march 1200 Miles into an Enemy's Country, and then, when a Command was offered him, talk of refuſing it upon the Account of his advanced Age. And tho' the *Athenians* did exempt Men from forced Service at the Age of 40; yet this was only with reſpect to the common Soldiers: Their Generals were not thought the worſe for being above that Age. I think I may leave it to all the World to judge, whether it would not be ridiculous in any General to talk of reſigning upon Account of his Age at 51; eſpecially when he was affirming upon every Occaſion, that he was one of the youngeſt Officers in the Army.

I cannot take my Leave without pointing out a very conſiderable Error in *Arbuthnot's* Tables, which has miſled Mr. *Spelman* in reducing the *Greek* to the *Engliſh* Meaſures at the End of the Book; for who could have any Suſpicion of the Correctneſs of a Work, which it is ſuppoſed, was overlooked by ſome of the greateſt Genius's in *Europe?* Theſe Tables make the *Greek* Foot ſomewhat larger than

than the *Engliſh* Foot: The Pace to contain 5 Feet *Engliſh*, and yet the *Stadium* to contain but 100 Paces, 4 Feet $4\frac{1}{2}$ Inches; ſo that 600 *Greek* Feet are not equal to 505 *Engliſh* Feet: And ſo the μίλιον, which contains 4800 *Greek* Feet, is made equal to 805 Paces 5 Feet, that is, 4030 *Engliſh* Feet. This Error ariſes from computing by the *Fathom*, inſtead of the Pace; and if this Miſtake be rectified in the next Edition, the Tables will be correct for any thing I know at preſent to the contrary. The ſureſt way of reducing the ancient Meaſures to thoſe of the Moderns, is to keep in Mind the true Proportion of their reſpective Feet. Thus 960 *Greek* Feet are equal to 967 *Engliſh*, and therefore the 34650 *Stadia* contained in the whole Expedition and Return of this Army, will, when reduced to our Meaſures amount to 3966 Miles. The *Greek* Mile, or μίλιον, is leſs than an *Engliſh* Mile by 445 *Engliſh* Feet. An *Engliſh* Mile contains 5241 *Greek* Feet.

R. FORSTER.

THE EXPEDITION OF CYRUS.

BOOK V.

WE have hitherto related the Actions of the *Greeks* in their Expedition with *Cyrus*, and in their March to the *Euxine* Sea; how they arrived at *Trebiſond*, a *Greek* City, and offered the Sacrifices they had vowed to the Gods, in Return for their Safety in the Place where they firſt came into the Territories of their Friends.

BOOK V.

AFTER that they assembled to consider of the Remainder of their March, and *Antileon* of *Thuria* first rose up, and spoke in the following manner. *For my Part, Gentlemen! I am already tired with preparing my Baggage, with walking and running, carrying my Arms, and marching in my Rank, and with mounting the Guard and fighting; and therefore now desire, since we are arrived at the Sea, to* [a] *sail from hence forward, freed from these Labours,* [b] *like* Ulysses, *sleeping to arrive in* Greece. The Soldiers, hearing this,

[a] Πλεῖν τὸ λοιπόν. *Xenophon*, as we shall see afterwards, perpetually uses πεζῇ πορεύεσθαι, *to travel by Land*, in opposition to πλεῖν, *to travel by Sea*. There is a very remarkable Passage in the Institution of *Cyrus*, where our Author, speaking of the Posts instituted by the first *Cyrus*, says, that these Posts, *performed by Horses*, were the most expeditious Method of travelling by Land, τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πεζῇ πορειῶν ἄυτη ταχίστη. But our Author is not singular in this Use of the Word; *Diodorus Siculus*, speaking of the Expedition of *Artaxerxes* against *Evagoras* King of *Cyprus*, calls his Land-Army, though it consisted of Horse, as well as Foot, πεζὸν στράτευμα; his Words are these; τὸ μὲν γὰρ πεζὸν στρατευμα μυριάδων ἦν τριάκοντα σὺν ἱππεῦσι. I imagine this Sense of the Word in *Greek* may have given Occasion to the Phrase *pedibus ire* in the *Latin* Authors, and to *Cæsar*, in particular, to say *Lucius Cæsar pedibus Adrametum profugerat.*

8 *B.*

Diodor. Sic. 15 *B.*

Cæsar G. W. 2 *B.* c. 23.

[b] Ὥσπερ Ὀδυσσεύς. This relates to *Ulysses* arriving asleep in *Ithaca*, where the *Phæacian* Sailors left him in that Condition,

Homer Odyss. V.

Καδδ' ἄρ' ἐπὶ ψαμάθῳ ἴθισαν, δεδμημένον ὕπνῳ.

this, applauded him, and firſt another, and then all preſent expreſſed the ſame Deſire. Upon this *Cheiriſophus* roſe up and ſaid, *Gentlemen!* Anaxibius *is my Friend, and, at preſent, Admiral; if, therefore, you think proper to ſend me to him, I make no doubt of returning with Gallies and Ships to tranſport you; and ſince you are diſpoſed to go by Sea, ſtay here 'till I return, which ſhall be very ſuddenly.* The Soldiers, hearing this, were very well ſatisfied, and decreed that he ſhould ſet ſail immediately. BOOK V.

AFTER him, *Xenophon* got up and ſpoke to this Effect. Cheiriſophus *is gone to provide Ships for us, in the mean Time we propoſe to ſtay here. I ſhall therefore acquaint you with what I think proper for us to do during our Stay. In the firſt place we muſt ſupply ourſelves with Proviſions out of the Enemy's Country, for the Market here is not ſufficient to ſupply us, beſides, few of us are furniſhed with Money to provide ourſelves with what we want, and the Country is inhabited by the Enemy. We ſhall therefore expoſe ourſelves to loſe many*

I mention this Verſe to ſhew that *d'Ablancourt* had no Reaſon to excuſe his leaving out *Dormant*, by ſaying that it is only an Ornament, and not a Point of Hiſtory.

BOOK V. *many of our Men, if when we go in Search of Provisions, we are careless and unguarded: So that I am of Opinion, when you go out upon these Expeditions, you ought to take* [c] *Guides, in order to be safe, and not wander about*

[c] Σὺν προνομαῖς. I suspect there is here some Corruption in the Text; I do not know what to make of σὺν προνομαῖς; *Muretus* has a mind it should be σὺν προδρόμοις, but that does not satisfy: Both the *Latin* Translators have said *per Excursiones*; but how could they get Provisions, otherwise than by Excursions? *D'Ablancourt* has made very good Sense of it, by saying *qu'on n'y aille point sans Escorte*; but I do not think it can be shewn that προνομὴ signifies the Escort that attends on Foragers; I shall therefore venture to make a small Variation in the Text, a Liberty, I believe I have not above twice indulged before; it is this; I would read σὺν ἡγεμόσι instead of σὺν προνομαῖς; but, in order to support this Alteration, I find myself obliged to put the Reader in Mind of what our Author says immediately before; he tells the Men they will expose themselves, ἢν ἀμελῶς τε καὶ ἀφυλάκτως πορεύωνται ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια; the first of these, I think, he guards against by advising them to go out for Provisions σὺν ἡγεμόσι. This Reading seems to lead naturally to what he adds, ἄλλως δὲ μὴ πλανᾶσθαι, and further to ἡμᾶς τούτων ἐπιμεληθῆναι. Those who are acquainted with the ancient Writers must be sensible that there is so much Method in them, and so close a Connection between their general Assertions, and the Detail of them, the latter perpetually growing out of the former, that I hope this Alteration will not seem too violent, particularly where some was necessary. But there was another Danger, against which he was to warn them, and that related to private Plunder, for that is the Sense of ἐπὶ λείαν πορεύεσθαι, as it is particularly distinguished from public Expeditions in the sixth Book, where *Xenophon* tells us, the Soldiers made an Order that when the Army staid in the Camp, ἐξὴν ἐπὶ λείαν ἰέναι, the Men were then allowed to go out for private Plunder; and presently he will give us an Account of the Misfortune of

about the Country without them, and that the Care of providing them be left to us. BOOK V. This being resolved, he went on. *Hear also what I have farther to say. Some of you will, no doubt, desire to go out for Plunder. Let all such therefore acquaint us with their Intentions, and to what Part of the Country they propose to go; that we may know the Number both of those who go, and of those who stay, and assist the former in any Thing they want; and, if it shall be found necessary to send out Succours, that we may know whither to send them: And that, if any Person of less Experience undertakes any Thing, by endeavouring to know the Strength of the Enemy, we may be able to advise him.* This also was resolved. *In the next Place, consider this,* says he, *The Enemy having Leisure to make Reprisals, and may, with Justice, lay Snares for us, for we have possessed ourselves of what belongs to them, and they have the Advantage of us by being posted*

of *Cleænetus*, when the *Greeks* went out upon that Account, ἐπὶ λείαν ἐξῆσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες; but, when he comes to the public Expeditions of the Army to get Provisions, which he calls ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πορεύεσθαι, and which were made in Consequence of their Resolution upon what he proposed, he there tells us that he himself took the Guides appointed by the *Trapezuntians*, and led out one half of the Army, leaving the other to guard the Camp.

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posted upon Eminences that command our Camp. For which Reason I think we ought to place Out-guards round the Camp; and if, by turns, we mount the Guard, *and watch the Motions of the Enemy, we shall be the less exposed to a Surprize. Take this also into your Consideration. If we were assured that* Cheirisophus *would return with a sufficient Number of Ships to transport us, what I am going to say would be unnecessary: But, as That is uncertain, I think we ought, at the same Time, to endeavour to provide ourselves with Ships from hence: For, if we are already supplied, when he arrives, we shall have a greater Number of Ships to transport us; and, if he brings none, we shall make use of those we have provided. I observe many Ships sailing along this Coast; these, if we desire the Inhabitants of* Trebisond *to supply us with Ships of Strength, we may bring to the Shore, and, taking off their Rudders, place a Guard upon them, 'till we have enough to transport us in such a Manner as we propose.* This also was resolved. *The next Thing I would recommend to your Consideration, says he, is, whether it may not be reasonable to subsist those belonging to these Ships, as long as they stay in our Service, out of*

of the public Stock, and pay them their Freight, that they may find their Account in ſerving us. This was alſo reſolved. *I think, added* Xenophon, *that, if by this Means we ſhould be diſappointed of a ſufficient Number of Ships, we ought to order the Towns that border on the Sea, to repair the Roads, which, as we are informed, are hardly paſſable: For, they will obey our Orders both through Fear, and a Deſire to be rid of us.*

BOOK V.

UPON this they all cried out, that there was no Neceſſity to repair the Roads. *Xenophon* therefore, ſeeing their Folly, declined putting [d] any Queſtion relat-

[d] Επεψήφιζε μὲν οὐδέν. *Leunclavius* miſtook this Paſſage, when he ſaid *nihil ſanxit*, which *Hutchinſon* has properly explained by *nihil eos ſententias rogavit*: Thus is ἐπεψηφίζω made uſe of more than once by *Thucydides*, and, in this Senſe, he makes *Nicias* uſe it upon a very important Occaſion; the *Athenians*, at the Inſtigation of *Alcibiades*, reſolved to ſend a Fleet of ſixty Ships under his Command and that of *Nicias* and *Lamachus*, to aſſiſt the *Egeſtæans* againſt the *Selinuntians*, or rather to conquer *Sicily*: five Days after this Reſolution, there was another Aſſembly of the People, where every Thing that was neceſſary towards equipping and manning the Fleet was to be provided. Here *Nicias* did all that was in his Power to divert them from the Expedition, and, after many very ſolid Arguments to that Purpoſe, he propoſes to them to revoke their former Votes, and leave the *Sicilians* to enjoy what they poſſeſſed, and compoſe thoſe Dif- Thucydides, 6 *B.*

BOOK V.

relating to That, but prevailed on the Towns near the Sea to mend their Roads, of their own Accord; telling them, that, if the Roads were good, the *Greeks* would the ſooner leave their Country. The Inhabitants of *Trebiſond* let them have a Galley with fifty Oars, of which they gave the Command to [c] *Dexippus*, who lived in the Neighbourhood Differences without their Interpoſition; after propoſing this, he calls upon the Preſident of the Aſſembly, (if he thought it his Duty to take Care of the Commonwealth, and deſired to ſhew himſelf a good Citizen) *to put the Queſtion*, and again to take the Opinion of the *Athenians*; κὴ σὺ ὦ πρύτανι, ταῦτα (εἴπερ ἡγῇ σοι προσήκειν κήδεσθαί τε τῆς πόλεως, κὴ βούλει γενέσθαι πολίτης ἀγαθὸς) ἐπιψήφιζε, κὴ γνώμας προτίθει αὖθις Αθηναίοις. *D'Ablancourt* has ſaid very careleſsly, *ne laiſſa pas d'y donner ordre.*

[c] Δεξίππου Λακωνικόν περίοικον. *Hutchinſon* has rendered this *Dexippum Laconem iſtius loci Accolam*, and *d'Ablancourt*, in the ſame Senſe, *qui demeuroit en ces quartiers là:* This I do not take to be the Senſe of περίοικος, in this Place, which I think *Leunclavius* has rendered very properly *Dexippum Laconem è Spartæ viciniâ:* The ancient Authors in treating of the Affairs of the *Lacedæmonians*, almoſt always diſtinguiſh between the Inhabitants of *Sparta* and thoſe of *Lacedæmon*, that is of the Country adjoining to it, the former of whom at the Time of the Invaſion of *Xerxes* conſiſted but of eight thouſand Men, and were looked upon as better Soldiers than the latter; for we find *Demaratus*, in *Herodotus*, ſaying to *Xerxes* at the Affair of *Thermopilæ*, ἔστι ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι Σπάρτη, πόλις ἀνδρῶν ὀκτακισχιλίων μάλιστα· κὴ ἔτοι πάντες ὁμοῖοι ἰσοι τοῖσι ἐνθάδε μαχεσαμένοισι· οἵ γε μὴν ἄλλοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τέτοισι μὲν οὐκ ὁμοῖοι, ἀγαθοὶ δέ. Theſe Inhabitants of the Country of *Lacedæmon* are particularly called περίοικοι by *Strabo*; whom, he tells us, were freed by the *Romans*, when thoſe of *Sparta* were under the Oppreſſion of their Tyrants.

Herodot. *in* Polyhymnia.

Strabo, 8 *B.*

hood of *Sparta*: But he, neglecting to take any transport Ships, went away with the Galley, and sailed out of the *Euxine* Sea. However, he afterwards received condign Punishment; for, being in *Thrace* in the Service of *Seuthes*, and carrying on some Intrigues there, he was slain by *Nicander* the *Lacedæmonian*. The Inhabitants of *Trebisond* also supplied them with a Galley of thirty Oars, of which *Polycrates* an *Athenian* had the Command, who brought all the transport Ships he seized to the Shore before the Camp, and the *Greeks*, taking out their Cargoes, appointed Guards to take Charge of them, and retained the Ships for their Passage. In the mean Time the Soldiers went out to get Plunder, some succeeding, and others not. But *Cleænetus*, in attacking a strong Place with his own, and another Company, was slain together with many others. BOOK V.

WHEN the Provisions in the Neighbourhood were so far consumed, that the Parties could not return the same Day, *Xenophon* taking some of the Inhabitants of *Trebisond* for his Guides, led out one

BOOK V.

half of the Army againſt the *Drilians*, leaving the other to guard the Camp: Becauſe the *Colchians*, being driven out of their Houſes, were got together in great Numbers, and encamped upon the Eminences. Theſe Guides did not lead them to thoſe Places, where Proviſions were eaſy to be had, becauſe the Inhabitants were their Friends: But conducted them with great Chearfulneſs into the Territories of the *Drilians*, by whom they had been ill treated. This is a mountainous Country and of difficult Acceſs, and the People the moſt warlike of all thoſe who live near the *Euxine* Sea.

As ſoon as the *Greeks* entered their Country, the *Drilians* ſet Fire to all the Places they thought eaſy to be taken, and then went away. So that the *Greeks* found nothing but Swine, and Oxen, and ſome other Cattle that had eſcaped the Fire. There was one Place, called their Metropolis, whither they had all betaken themſelves. This Place was ſurrounded with a [f] Valley exceeding deep, and the Acceſs to it was difficult. However,

[f] χαράδρα. So note [b], page 210, Vol. I.

ever, the Targeteers, advancing five or six Stadia before the heavy-armed Men paſſed the Valley, and ſeeing there a great many Cattle with other Things, attacked the Place. They were followed by many Pike-men, who had left the Camp to get Proviſions: So that the Number of thoſe, who paſſed the Valley amounted to above two thouſand Men. Theſe, finding themſelves unable to take the Place by Storm (for it was ſurrounded with a large Ditch and a Rampart, upon which there were Paliſades, and many wooden Towers) endeavoured to retreat; but the Enemy attacked the Rear, ſo that, not being able to make their Retreat (for the Paſs, which led from the Place to the Valley, was ſo narrow they could only go one by one) they ſent to *Xenophon*, who was at the head of the heavy-armed Men. The Meſſenger acquainted him that the Place was furniſhed with great Quantities of Effects; *but*, ſays he, *it is ſo ſtrong, we cannot make ourſelves Maſters of it: Neither is it eaſy for us to retreat; for the Enemy, ſallying from the Place, attacks our Rear, and the Receſs is difficult.* BOOK V.

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XENOPHON, hearing this, advanced to the Brink of the Valley, and ordered the heavy-armed Men to ſtand to their Arms: Then, paſſing over with the Captains, he conſidered whether it were better to bring off thoſe who had already paſſed, or to ſend for the heavy-armed Men to come over alſo, in Expectation of taking the Place. He found the firſt could not be brought off without conſiderable Loſs, and the Captains were alſo of Opinion that the Place might be taken. So *Xenophon* conſented, relying upon the Victims; for the Prieſts had foretold there would be an Action, and that their [g] Excurſion would be attended with Succeſs. He ſent therefore the Captains to bring over the heavy-armed Men, and himſelf ſtaid there, and drew off the Targeteers without ſuffering any of them to ſkirmiſh. As ſoon as the heavy-armed Men came up, he ordered each of the Captains to draw up their ſeveral Companies in ſuch a Manner as they thought moſt

[g] Τέλος τῆς ἐξόδου. *Hutchinſon* underſtands ἔξοδος in this Place to relate to the Retreat of the *Greeks* from the Place, where they ſeem to have engaged themſelves raſhly; I have rather choſen to explain it of their *Excurſion* in Queſt of Proviſions; which Senſe I find *Leunclavius* has followed.

moſt advantageous. He did this, becauſe thoſe Captains, who were in a perpetual Emulation of Gallantry, ſtood near to one another. While theſe Orders were putting in Execution, he commanded all the Targeteers to advance with their Fingers [h] in the Slings of their Darts, which, when the Signal was given, they were to lance, and the Archers with their Arrows on the String, which, upon a Signal alſo, they were to diſcharge; at the ſame Time he ordered the light-armed Men to have their Pouches full of Stones; and appointed proper Perſons to ſee theſe Orders executed. When every Thing was ready, and the Captains and Lieutenants, and the Men, who valued themſelves no leſs than their Leaders, ſtood all in their Ranks, and viewed one another, (for by Reaſon of the Ground the Army made a fine Appearance) they ſung the * *Pæan*, and the Trumpet ſounded, then the Army ſhouted, the heavy-armed Men ran on, and Javelins, Arrows, leaden Balls, and Stones thrown by Hand flew among the Enemy; ſome of the Men even throwing Fire at them. The great Quan-

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[h] Διηγκυλισμένους ἶναι. See note [y], page 264, Vol. I.

* *Vide* note [t], Vol. I. page 88, and 89.

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Quantity of theſe miſſive Weapons forced them both from the Paliſades, and the Towers; ſo that *Agaſias* of *Stymphalus*, and *Philoxenus* of *Pelena*, laying down their Arms, mounted the Rampart in their Veſts only; when ſome, being drawn up, by their Companions, and others, gètting up by themſelves, the Place was taken, as they imagined. Upon this, the Targeteers and light-armed Men, ruſhing in, plundered every Thing they could find, while *Xenophon*, ſtanding at the Gates, kept as many of the heavy-armed Men as he could, without: Becauſe other Bodies of the Enemy appeared upon ſome Eminences ſtrongly fortified. Not long after, there was a Cry heard within, and the Men came flying, ſome with what they had got, and others, poſſibly, wounded. Upon this, there was great crowding about the Gates. Thoſe who got through, being aſked what the Matter was, ſaid there was a Fort within, from which the Enemy ſallied, and wounded our Men who were in the Place.

XENOPHON, hearing this, ordered *Tolmides* the Cryer to publiſh, that all, who

who desired to partake of the Plunder, BOOK
should go in; many therefore prepared V.
themselves to enter, and, rushing in,
drove back those who were endeavouring
to get out, and shut up the Enemy again
within the Fort. The *Greeks* plundered
and carried off every Thing they found
without it; while the heavy-armed Men
stood to their Arms, some round the
Palisades, and others upon the Road that
led to the Fort. Then *Xenophon*, and
the Captains considered whether it were
possible to take it, for, in that Case, they
secured their Retreat, which otherwise,
would be exceeding difficult: But, upon
Consideration, the Fort was found to be
altogether impregnable. Upon this they
prepared for their Retreat, and each of
the Men pulled up the Palisades that
were next to him, then the useless People,
together with the greatest Part of the
heavy-armed Men, were sent out to get
Plunder; but the Captains retained those,
in whom each of them confided.

As soon as they began their Retreat,
the Enemy sallied upon them, in great
Numbers, armed with Bucklers, Spears,
Greaves

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Greaves and *Paphlagonian* Helmets; while others got upon the Houſes on each Side of the Street that led to the Fort; ſo that it was not ſafe to purſue them to the Gates of it, for they threw great Pieces of Timber from above, which made it dangerous both to ſtay, and to retire: And the Night, coming on, increaſed the Terror. While they were engaged with the Enemy under this Perplexity, ſome God adminiſtered to them a Means of Safety; for one of the Houſes on the right Hand took Fire on a ſudden: Who ſet Fire to it, is not known: But, as ſoon as this Houſe fell in, the Enemy quitted all thoſe on the right, and *Xenophon*, being taught this Expedient by Fortune, ordered all the Houſes on the left to be ſet on Fire. Theſe, being built of Wood, were ſoon in a Flame, upon which the Enemy quitted them alſo. There only now remained thoſe in the Front to diſturb them, it being evident they deſigned to attack them in their Retreat and Deſcent from the Fort. Upon this, *Xenophon* ordered all who were out of the Reach of the miſſive Weapons, to bring Wood, and lay it in the Midway

between them and the Enemy. When they had brought enough, they ſet Fire to it; ſetting Fire at the ſame Time to the Houſes that were next the Rampart in order to employ the Enemy. Thus, by interpoſing Fire between themſelves and the *Barbarians*, they, with Difficulty, made good their Retreat; the City with all the Houſes, Towers, Paliſades, and every Thing elſe but the Fort was reduced to Aſhes. BOOK V.

THE next Day the *Greeks* marched away with the Proviſions they had taken; but, apprehending ſome Danger in the Deſcent to *Trebiſond* (for it was a ſteep and narrow Defile) they placed a falſe Ambuſcade. A certain *Myſian* by Birth as well as Name, taking four or five *Cretans* with him, ſtopped in a Thicket, affecting an endeavour to conceal himſelf from the Enemy, while the flaſhing of their brazen Bucklers diſcovered them here and there. The Enemy therefore, ſeeing this, were afraid of it, as of a real Ambuſcade: In the mean Time the Army deſcended. As ſoon as the *Myſian* judged they were advanced far enough,

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he gave the Signal to his Companions to fly in all Haſte, and he himſelf, leaving the Thicket, fled, and they with him. The *Cretans* (expecting to be overtaken) left the Road, and, rolling down into the Valleys, got ſafe to a Wood. But the *Myſian*, keeping the Road called out for Help, when ſome ran to his Aſſiſtance, and brought him off wounded. Theſe, after they had reſcued him, retreated ſlowly, though expoſed to the Enemy's miſſive Weapons, while ſome of the *Cretans* diſcharged their Arrows in Return. Thus they all arrived at the Camp in Safety.

WHEN neither *Chiriſophus* returned, nor the Ships, they had provided, were ſufficient to tranſport them, and no more Proviſions were to be had, they determined to leave the Country. To this End they put on board all their Sick, and thoſe above forty Years of Age, together with the Women and Children, and all their Baggage that was not abſolutely neceſſary; and appointed *Phileſius* and *Sophænetus*, the oldeſt of the Generals, to go on board, and take Care of them.

them. The reſt travelled by Land, the Roads being mended; and, the third Day, they arrived at *Cerazunt*, [i] a *Greek* City ſituated in the Country of the *Colchians* near the Sea, and a Colony of the *Sinopians*. Here they ſtaid ten days, during which, the Soldiers were reviewed in their Arms, and an Account taken of their Number, which amounted to eight thouſand ſix hundred. Theſe were all that were ſaved out of about ten thouſand: The reſt were deſtroyed by the Enemy and by the Snow, and ſome by Sickneſs. Here each Man received his Share of the Money that had been raiſed by the Sale of the Captives, the tenth Part of which they conſecrated to *Apollo* and to *Diana* of *Epheſus*: of this each of the Generals received a Part to be appropriated by them to that Service: *Neon* the *Aſinian* received That which was deſigned for *Cheirijophus*.

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XENO-

Ammianus Marcellinus. Pl. N. H. 15 *B.* c. 25. Tournefort 17 *Letter*. Arrian Periplus *of the* Euxine *Sea*.

[i] Εις Κερασοῦντα. *Cerazunt* was the Place, whence *Lucullus*, in his Return from his Expedition againſt *Mithridates*, brought Cherry-Trees into *Italy*, in the Year of *Rome* 680; one hundred and twenty Years after that they were carried into *Britain*; they ſeem to have had their Name from this City, or the City from them. *Tournefort* tells us, that he found all the Hills, in the Neighbourhood of it, covered with thoſe Trees. *Cerazunt* was afterwards called *Pharnacia*, though *Ptolemy*, *Strabo*, and *Pliny* make them different Towns.

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XENOPHON therefore, having caused an Offering to be made for *Apollo*, consecrated it in the Treasury of the *Athenians* at *Delphos*, inscribing it with his own Name and that of *Proxenus*, who was slain with *Clearchus*, there having been an Intercourse of Hospitality between them. As to that Part of the Money which was appropriated to *Diana* of *Ephesus*, he left it with *Megabysus*, the *Sacristan* of that Goddess, [k] when he departed out of *Asia*, in Company with *Agesilaus*, with a Design to go to *Bœotia*, conceiving he might be exposed to some Danger with him at *Choronea*. He enjoined *Megabysus*, if he escaped, to restore the Money to him, otherwise, to make such an offering with it, as he thought would be most acceptable to the Goddess, and dedicate it to her. Afterwards, when *Xenophon* was banished from *Athens*, and lived at *Scilus*, a Town built by the *Lacedæmonians* near *Olympia*, *Megabysus* came to *Olympia*, to see the Games, and restored the Deposit. With this Money, *Xenophon* purchased some Lands in Honour of the God-

[k] Ὅτε ἀπῆλθε σὺν Ἀγησιλάῳ. See the Life of *Xenophon* prefixed to this Translation, where this and many other subsequent Passages are explained.

Goddeſs, in the Place directed by the Oracle; through which the River *Selenus* happens to run, a River of the ſame Name running alſo hard by the Temple of the *Epheſian Diana*, and in both there are Shell-Fiſh [l] as well as other Fiſh. Beſides, there are in this Place near *Scilus*, wild Beaſts of all Kinds that are proper for the Chaſe. *Xenophon* alſo built a [m] Temple and an Altar with this conſecrated Money: And, from that Time, offer- BOOK V.

[l] Κόγχαι. Under the Title of Κόγχαι in *Greek*, and *Conchæ* in *Latin*, are comprehended the infinite Variety of Shell-Fiſh deſcribed by *Pliny*; moſt of which, I dare ſay, I have ſeen in Sir *Hans Sloane*'s magnificent and curious Collection of the Product of all the four Parts of the Earth; which Collection I look upon as a much better Comment upon that Author, than all that has been written to explain him. Pl. N. H. 9 *B.* 33 *c.*

[m] Ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ ναὸν, &c. *Pauſanias* tells us that near to this Temple ſtood a Monument, ſaid to be erected for *Xenophon*, with his Statue in *Penteleſian* Marble; the Quarry of this Marble, ſo much celebrated among the Statuaries, was upon a Mountain of that Name near *Athens*; whatever Merit this Marble might have, we find in *Pliny* that the firſt Statuaries made uſe of no other than that of *Paros*, though, ſince that Time, he ſays, many whiter Kinds of Marble have been diſcovered, and, not long before he writ, in the Quarries of *Luna*, a Sea-Port Town of *Tuſcany*. I have lately ſeen, in the Hands of a very curious Perſon, a Piece of Marble juſt brought from the Iſland of *Paros*; it is exceeding white, and ſparkles like the Fragments of the moſt ancient Statues, which by theſe Circumſtances, as well as by the Authority of the beſt Authors, plainly appear to have been of that Marble. Pauſanias 5 *B.* Ib. 1 *B.* *c.* 32. Pl. N. H. 36 *B.*

BOOK V. offered to the Goddeſs an annual Sacrifice of the Tenth of the Product of every Seaſon; and all the Inhabitants, with the Men and Women in the Neighbourhood, partook of the Feaſt: and all, who are preſent at it, have Barley-Meal, Bread, Wine and Sweetmeats in Honour of the Goddeſs, and alſo their Share of the Victims, that are killed from the conſecrated Lands, and of the Game that is taken. For the Sons of *Xenophon*, and thoſe of the reſt of the Inhabitants, always made a general Hunting againſt the Feaſt, when all, who deſired it, hunted along with them: and wild Boars, with [n] Roe and red Deer, were taken both upon the conſecrated Lands, and upon a Mountain called *Pholoe*. The Place lies near the Road, that leads from *Lacedæmon* to *Olympia*, about twenty Stadia from the Temple of *Jupiter*, that ſtands in the laſt of theſe Cities. There are Groves belonging to it, and Hills, covered with Trees, very proper to feed Swine, Goats, Sheep and Horſes; ſo that thoſe belonging to the Perſons, who come

[n] Δορκάδες. See note [h], page 55, upon the firſt Book. The Mountain *Pholoe* in *Arcadia* was famous for all Sorts of Game.

come to the Feaſt, find Plenty of Paſture. The Temple it ſelf ſtands in a Grove of Fruit-Trees, that yield all Sorts of Fruit proper to the Seaſon: ° It reſembles, in little, BOOK V.

° Ὁ δὲ ναὸς, ὡς μικρὸς μεγάλῳ, τῷ ἐν Εφέσῳ ἔικασται· καὶ τὸ ξόανον ἔοικεν, ὡς κυπαρίσσινον χρυσῷ ὄυτι τῷ ἐν Εφέσῳ.

Hutchinſon has, upon this Occaſion, quoted a Paſſage out of *Pliny*, wherein that Author gives the Dimenſions of the Temple of *Epheſus*; but it muſt be obſerved that the Temple, there deſcribed by *Pliny*, was not in being at the Time of our Author; ſince it was only begun after the firſt was burned down by *Heroſtratus*, which happened the ſame Night *Alexander* the Great was born, that is, in the *Attick* Month *Boëdromion* (*September*) in the firſt Year of the 106th Olympiad: Which gave Occaſion to *Timæus*, the Hiſtorian, to ſay, that it was no Wonder *Diana*'s Temple was burned, ſince the Goddeſs was from Home attending *Olympias* in her Labour. The Temple therefore which was burned down by *Heroſtratus*, not That deſcribed by *Pliny*, (which was not begun 'till ſome Years after *Xenophon*'s Death, and was 220 Years in building) muſt have been the Model of the Temple built by *Xenophon* at *Scilus*. The laſt Temple of *Ephesus*, *Alexander*, it ſeems, was ſo deſirous to have inſcribed with his Name, that he offered the *Ephesians* to bear all the Expence they had been, and ſhould be at in building it, provided they would conſent to the Inſcription: This they refuſed with as great Vanity as he deſired it; but, being ſenſible that a flat Denial might be attended with dangerous Conſequences, they cloathed them with a Piece of Flattery, and told *Alexander* that it was not decent for one God to dedicate Temples to another. The ſame Judgment is to be made of the Quotation brought by *Hutchinſon* out of *Pliny*, in Relation to the Wood of which the Statue of the *Epheſian Diana* was made, ſince we find, by this Paſſage of *Xenophon*, that the Statue in the firſt Temple was of Gold. I am apt to believe alſo that the Repreſentations of the *Epheſian Diana* which are to be met with in ſeveral Monuments of Antiquity, are all taken from the Statue in the laſt Temple. The great Number of Breaſts, with which the Body of this Statue

Euſeb. *Chron.* Arrian 7 *B.* Timæus *in* Tully *de Nat Deor.* 2 *B.* Pl. N. H. 36 *B. c.* 14. Strabo, 14 *B.*

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little, the Temple of *Epheſus*, and the Statue of the Goddeſs, is as like that of *Epheſus*, is ſurrounded, (from which ſhe was called *multimammia* πολύμας@) confirm the Opinion of ſome learned Men that the *Egyptian Iſis*, and the *Greek Diana* were the ſame Divinity with *Rhæa* from the *Hebrew* Word רעה *Rahah*, *to feed*. The *Diana* of *Epheſus* alſo, like *Rhæa*, or *Cybele*, was crowned with Turrets, which Symbol of *Rhæa*, together with her Fecundity, are both ſet forth in thoſe beautiful Verſes, where *Virgil* compares *Rome* to this Goddeſs,

Virg. 6 *B.*

En hujus, Nate, Auſpiciis illa inclyta Roma
Imperium Terris, animos æquabit Olympo:
Septemque una ſibi Muro circumdabit Arces,
Felix Prole virûm: qualis Berecynthia mater
Invehitur curru Phrygias turrita per urbes,
Læta Deûm partu, centum, complexa Nepotes,
Omnes Cælicolas, omnes ſupera alta tenentes.

Montfaucon, *Antiquity explained*, 3 *B.*

I am ſurprized that *Montfaucon*, in his Account of the *Diana* of *Epheſus*, and of the various Repreſentations of that Goddeſs, does not diſtinguiſh between the two Temples and the two Statues, but contents himſelf with quoting the ſame Paſſage out of *Pliny*, to ſhew the different Opinions of People concerning the Wood of which the Statue was made. But, to return to the *Greek Diana*, the *Phrygian Rhæa*, or the *Egyptian Iſis*, all Emblems of Fecundity, it is very obſervable that almoſt all the Statues of the *Epheſian Diana* have a Crab upon the Breaſt; of which *Montfaucon*, after he has given the Opinions of the Antiquaries, ſays the Signification is uncertain; however uncertain it may be, I beg I may be allowed to offer a Conjecture about it. Every one agrees that the Repreſentation of the *Epheſian Diana* was taken from the *Egyptian Iſis*, and all Authors both ancient and modern, affirm that the overflowing of the *Nile* becomes remarkable generally at the Summer Solſtice; how then could the *Egyptians* repreſent *Fertility* better than by placing on the Breaſt of their Goddeſs *Iſis*, or univerſal Nature, that Sign in the *Zodiack*, which denotes the Summer Solſtice, when the fertile Water of the *Nile* begins to diffuſe Plenty over the Face of their Coun-

Herodot. *in* Euterp. Maillet 2 *Letter.*

Epheſus, as a Statue of Cypreſs can be to one of Gold: Near to the Temple ſtands a Pillar with this Inſcription. *Theſe Lands are conſecrated to* Diana. *Let the Poſſeſſor offer up the tenth Part of the annual Product in Sacrifice, and out of the Surplus, keep the Temple in repair. If he fails, the Goddeſs will puniſh his Neglect.* BOOK V.

FROM *Cerazunt*, thoſe who went on board before, continued their Voyage by Sea, and the reſt proceeded by Land. When they came to the Confines of the [p] *Moſynœcians*, they ſent *Timeſitheus* of *Trebiſond* to them, between whom and them

Country? This hieroglyphical Manner of repreſenting *Fertility* is agreeable to the Genius of the *Egyptians*, who ſeem to have purſued it in the Compoſition of their fictitious Animal, the Sphinx, a Figure compoſed of the Body of a Lion, and the Head of a Virgin, with the ſame View of denoting Plenty ſpread over *Egypt* by the *overflowing* of the *Nile*, during the Time the Sun paſſes through the Signs of the Lion and Virgin, which immediately follow the Summer Solſtice שפע *Sphang* in *Hebrew*, from whence the word *Sphinx* is viſibly derived, ſignifying *overflowing*.

[p] Μοσυνοίκων. The *Moſynœcians* are thus paraphraſed by *Dionyſius Periegetes*,

——— οἱ μόσσυνας ἴχυσι
Δυρατίυς. ———

Upon which *Euſtathius* obſerves λέγει μόσυνας ἔχειν δυρατίυς ἤγουν ξυλίνυς. It ſeems the *Greeks* gave them the Name of *Moſynœcians*, from the *wooden Towers* they inhabited, μόσυν ſignifying in *Greek* a *wooden Tower*. Dionyſius Periegetes v. 766.

BOOK V. them there was an Intercourſe of Hoſpitality, to aſk them in their Name, whether they deſired the *Greeks* ſhould march through their Country as Friends or as Enemies? The *Moſynæcians* anſwered it was equal to them; for they truſted to their Places of Strength. Upon this *Timeſitheus* informed the *Greeks*, that the *Moſynæcians*, who inhabited the Country beyond theſe, were at Enmity with them: So they reſolved to ſend to this People to know whether they were diſpoſed to enter into an Alliance; and *Timeſitheus*, being ſent upon this Occaſion, returned with their Magiſtrates. When they were arrived, they had a Conference with the Generals of the *Greeks*, and *Xenophon* ſpoke to them in this Manner, *Timeſitheus* being the Interpreter:

O Moſynœcians! *We propoſe to go to* Greece *by Land, for we have no Ships: but theſe People, who, as we underſtand, are your Enemies, oppoſe our Paſſage. You have it in your Power, therefore, if you think proper, by entering into an Alliance with us, both to take Revenge of them for any Injuries they may have formerly done you, and to keep them in*

in Subjection for the future. Conſider then, whether, if you neglect this Opportunity, you are ever like to be ſupported with ſo powerful an Alliance. To this the chief Magiſtrate of the *Moſynæcians* made Anſwer, that he approved of this, and accepted our Alliance. *Let us know then*, ſaid *Xenophon*, *what Uſe you propoſe to make of us, if we become your Allies? And of what Service you can be to us in our Paſſage.* They anſwered, *We have it in our Power to make an Irruption, on the other Side, into the Country of thoſe who are Enemies to us both, and to ſend hither Ships with Men, who will be both your Auxiliaries, and your Guides.*

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UPON theſe Terms they gave their Faith, and received ours, and then returned. The next Day they came back with three hundred Canoes, three Men being in each, two of whom diſembarking, ſtood to their Arms in Order of Battle, and the third remained on board. Theſe went away in their Canoes, and the reſt diſpoſed themſelves in the following Manner. They drew up in ſeveral Lines, each conſiſting of about one hundred Men, which, like Rows of

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Dancers, faced one another; they had all Bucklers made of the Hides of white Oxen with the Hair on, and ſhaped like an ivy Leaf; and, in their right Hands, a Spear ſix Cubits in Length, with a Point on the upper Part, and, on the lower, a Ball of the ſame Wood. They wore Veſts, which did not reach to their Knees, of the Thickneſs of [q] linen Bags, in which Carpets are uſually packed up; and, on their Heads, Helmets made of Leather, like thoſe of the *Paphlagonians*, from the Middle of which there roſe a [r] Tuft of Hair braided to a Point reſembling

Plutarch *in* Cæſar.

[q] Στρωματόδεσμος. It was in one of theſe *Sacks* that *Cleopatra* conveyed herſelf in Order to deceive *Cæſar*'s Guards, and ſolicit him againſt her Brother; ἀπόρῳ δὲ, ſays *Plutarch*, τῷ λαθεῖν ὄντως ἄλλως, ἡ μὲν εἰς στρωματόδεσμον ἐνδῦσα, προτείνει μακρὰν ἑαυτήν· ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλόδωρος ἱμάντι συνδήσας τὸν στρωματόδεσμον, εἰσκομίζει πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα.

Thucydides, 1 *B.*

[r] Κρώβυλον. I ſhall quote a Paſſage of *Thucydides*, upon this Occaſion, not only to explain the Signification of this Word, but alſo becauſe the Paſſage itſelf contains an Account of a very odd Dreſs in Uſe among the *Athenians* of old, with the Obſervation of the *Greek* Scholiaſt upon it. *Thucydides* tells us, that, not long before his Time, the old Men at *Athens*, of the richer Sort, wore linen Veſts, and the Braids of their Hair interwoven with golden Graſhoppers: καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι αὐτοῖς τῶν ἰυδαιμόνων, διὰ τὸ ἀβροδιαιτον, καὶ πολὺς χρόνος ἐπειδὴ χιτῶνάς τε λινᾶς ἐπάυσαντο φοροῦντες, καὶ χρυσῶν τεττίγων ἐνίεσι κρώβυλον ἀναδήμενοι τῶν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τειχῶν The *Greek* Scholiaſt, in his Obſervation upon this Paſſage, fully explains the word Κρώβυλος, made Uſe of by *Xenophon* in

ſembling a Tiara. They had alſo Battle-Axes made of Iron. Then one of them led the Way, and all the reſt followed, ſinging alſo, and marching in Time; when, paſſing through the Ranks of the *Greeks*, as they ſtood to their Arms, they advanced immediately againſt the Enemy, to a Fort that ſeemed in no Degree capable of making Reſiſtance. This Fort ſtood before the City, which they called the Metropolis, that contained within it the moſt conſiderable Citadel of the *Moſynœcians*. This Citadel was the Subject of the preſent War between them; for thoſe, who were in Poſſeſſion of it, were always looked upon to have the Command of all the reſt of the *Moſynœcians*: they told us that the others had ſeized this that now before us: Κρώβυλός, ſays he, ἐστὶν εἰδος πλεγματος τῶν τριχῶν, ἀπὸ ἑκατέρων εἰς ὀξυ ἀπολῆγον· ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ τῶν μὲν ἀνδρῶν, κρώβυλος· τῶν δὲ γυναικῶν, κόρυμβος· τῶν δὲ παίδων σκορπιος —— ἐφόρων δὲ τεττιγας, διὰ τὸ μυθικὸν, ἢ διὰ τὸ αὐτόχθονας εἶναι, ἡ γαρ τὸ ζῶον γηγενές. And this is the Senſe I have given to the Word Κρωβυλος in my Tranſlation of this Paſſage. The laſt Reaſon given by the *Greek* Scholiaſt for the *Athenians* wearing Graſhoppers in their Hair ſeems the beſt founded, that is, that they did it to ſhew they were the original Inhabitants of the Country, for every body knows this was their Pretenſion. I am at a Loſs to know what induced *d'Ablancourt* to tranſlate Κρώβυλος *un cercle de Fer*. He has been equally unfortunate in rendering the following Paſſage. Χιτωνίσκους δὲ ἐνεδεδύκεσαν ὑπὲρ γονάτων, *ils avoient des cottes d'armes qui leur paſſoient les genoux.*

BOOK V. this Place, contrary to all Juſtice, it belonging to both Nations in common, and, by ſeizing it, had gained the Aſcendant over them.

SOME of the *Greeks* followed theſe Men, not by the Orders of their Generals, but for the ſake of Plunder. The Enemy, upon their Approach, kept themſelves quiet for a Time; but, when they came near the Fort, they ſallied out, and, putting them to Flight, killed many of the *Barbarians*, together with ſome of the *Greeks*, who were of the Party; and purſued them 'till they ſaw the *Greek* Army coming up to their Aſſiſtance. Upon which they turned and fled: And, cutting off the Heads of the Slain, they ſhewed them both to the *Greeks* and to the *Moſynœcians*, their Enemies; dancing at the ſame Time, and [a] ſinging a particular Tune. This Accident gave the *Greeks* great Uneaſineſs, both becauſe it encouraged the Enemy, and becauſe their own Men, who were of the Party in great

[a] Νομῷ τινὶ ᾄδοντες. Νομὸς is uſed in the ſame Senſe by *Herodotus*, where, ſpeaking of the Adventure of *Arion*, he ſays, τὸν δὲ (Ἀρίονα) ἐνδύντα τὰ φάρεα τὴν σκευὴν, καὶ λαβόντα τὴν κιθάρην, στάντα ἐν τοῖσι ἐδώλοισι διεξελθεῖν νόμον τὸν ὄρθιον.

Herodot. in Clio.

great Numbers, ran away; which had never happened before during the whole Expedition. Upon this, *Xenophon*, calling the Soldiers together, ſpoke to them in this Manner. *Gentlemen! do not ſuffer yourſelves to be caſt down by what has happened; for the Good, that attends it, is not leſs than the Evil. In the firſt Place, this has convinced you that our Guides are, in reality, Enemies to thoſe to whom we are ſo through Neceſſity. Secondly, thoſe* Greeks, *who deſpiſed our Diſcipline, and thought themſelves able to perform as great Things in Conjunction with the* Barbarians, *as with us, are juſtly puniſhed: So that, for the future, they will be leſs deſirous of leaving our Army. Prepare yourſelves therefore to let thoſe* Barbarians, *who are your Friends, ſee, that you are ſuperior to them in Courage, and to ſhew thoſe, who are your Enemies, that they will not find you the ſame Men now, as when they engaged you, while you were in Diſorder.* BOOK V.

THUS they paſſed this Day. The next, as ſoon as they had offered Sacrifice, and found the Victims favourable, they took their Repaſt. After that, the

Army

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Army being drawn up in Columns, and the *Barbarians* placed on the left in the ſame Diſpoſition, they went on, the Archers marching in the Intervals, a little within the foremoſt Ranks of the heavy-armed Men; for the Enemy's Forlorn, conſiſting of light-armed, advanced before the reſt, and diſcharged a Volley of Stones among the *Greeks*. Theſe were repulſed by the Archers and Targeteers. The reſt marched ſlowly on, and firſt went againſt the Fort, before which the *Barbarians* and the *Greeks*, who were with them, had been put to Flight the Day before: for here the Enemy was drawn up. The *Barbarians* received the Targeteers, and fought with them: But, when the heavy-armed Men came up, they fled; and the Targeteers immediately followed, purſuing them up the Hill to the Metropolis, while the heavy-armed Men marched on in their Ranks. As ſoon as the *Greeks* had gained the Top of the Hill, and came to the Houſes of the Metropolis, the Enemy, being now got together in a Body, engaged them, and lanced their Javelins; and, with other Spears, which were of that Length and

and Thickneſs that a Man could ſcarce wield one of them, they endeavoured to defend themſelves hand to hand. BOOK V.

HOWEVER the *Greeks* preſſing hard upon them, and engaging them in a cloſe Fight, they fled, and preſently all the *Barbarians* quitted the Town. But their King, who reſided in a wooden Tower ſituated upon an Eminence, (whom, while he reſides there, and guards the Place, they maintain at the public Expence) refuſed to leave it, as did alſo thoſe who were in the place that was firſt taken: ſo they were burned there together with their Towers. The *Greeks*, in ſacking the Town, found, in the Houſes, great Heaps of Bread made, according to the Cuſtom of the Country, the year before; as the *Moſynæcians* aſſured us: and the new Corn laid up in the Straw; [t] it was moſt of it Spelt. They found

[t] Ζειαί. Ζεία or Ζέα in *Greek*, is what the *Romans* called *Far*, as we find very particularly in *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis*, where, ſpeaking of the matrimonial Ceremony, by them called *confarreatio*, he ſays it had its Name ἀπὸ τῆς κοινωνίας τῦ φαρρὸς, ὁ καλεμεν ἡμεῖς ζέαν; I am apt to believe it was what we call *Spelt*. *Pliny* ſays the Epithet of ζειδωρος which *Homer* gives ſo often to ἄρουρα is derived from ζέα, not from ζῆν, according to the general Opinion. Dionyſ. Hal. 2 B. Pl. N. H. 18 B. c. 8.

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found alſo Dolphins cut into Pieces, lying in pickle in Jars: And, in other Veſſels, the Fat of the ſame Fiſh, which the *Moſynœcians* uſed, as the *Greeks* do Oil. In their Garrets were great Quantities of [u] Cheſnuts. Theſe they boil and generally uſed inſtead of Bread. There was found Wine alſo, which, when unmixed, was ſo rough that it appeared ſour: But, being mixed with Water, became both fragrant and ſweet.

THE *Greeks*, having dined there, went forward, delivering up the Place to thoſe *Moſynœcians* who had aſſiſted them in taking it. As for the reſt of the Towns they arrived at, which belonged to the Enemy, the eaſieſt of Acceſs were either abandoned, or ſurrendered. The greateſt Part of which are of this Nature; they are diſtant from one another eighty Stadia, ſome more, ſome leſs; and yet, when the Inhabitants call out to one another, they can be heard from one Town to another: So mountainous, and ſo

[u] Κάρυα τὰ πλατία ἐκ ἴχοντα διαφυὴν ὀδεμίαν. Literally *flat Nuts without any Cleft*; Κάρυα ſignifies *Nuts* in general; by theſe Additions they are diſtinguiſhed both from common Nuts, and Walnuts.

so hollow is the Country. The *Greeks* proceeding ſtill forwards, arrived among their Allies, who ſhewed them Boys belonging to the rich Men, fatted with boiled Chefnuts: Their Skin was delicate and exceeding white, and they were very near as thick as they were long. Their Backs were painted with various Colours, and all their fore Parts [x] impreſſed with Flowers. BOOK V.

[x] Εσιγμένους ἀνθέμιον. I am not at all ſurprized that the Tranſlators are puzzled at the Word ἀνθέμιον in this Place, for, I believe, it is no eaſy Matter to find it uſed in this Senſe by any other Author; *Hutchinſon* has ſaid, after *Leunclavius*, *picturâ floridâ diſtinctis*, which though I am far from condemning, yet I think ἀνθεμόεν is the Word uſed by all Authors in that Senſe; this is the Epithet *Homer* gives to the Baſon or Charger, which *Achilles* propoſes as one of the Prizes to the Victor in throwing the Dart,

Καδδὲ λέβητ' ἄπυρον βοὸς ἄξιον ἀνθεμόεντα
Θῆκ' ἐς ἀγῶνα φέρων. ——— Homer Il. ψ.

Which Mr. *Pope* has tranſlated as he ever does, with great Propriety,

An ample Charger of unſullied Frame,
With Flow'rs high-wrought ———

The Lexicons are as ſilent, in Relation to this Senſe of the word ἀνθέμιον, as the Authors; *Heſychius* ſays it ſignifies *a winding Line in Pillars*, γραμμή τις ἑλικοειδὴς ἐν τοῖς κίοσι, I ſuppoſe he means *twiſted Pillars*; it is therefore ſubmitted to the Reader whether *Xenophon* may not ſay that the Fore-parts of theſe People were impreſſed with this Kind of Flouriſhes. *D'Ablancourt* has ſaid with great Art and little Fidelity, *ils avoient le dos & l'eſtomach peint de diverſes Couleurs*, by this Means he has left out ἀνθέμιον. The Cuſtom, mentioned by *Xenophon* to have been in Practice among the *Moſynœcians* of painting their Bodies, was alſo uſed by our Anceſtors, as we find in

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Flowers. They wanted publicly to make Uſe of the Women the *Greeks* brought with them. It ſeems this is their Cuſtom. The People of this Country, both Men and Women, are very fair: All the Army agreed that theſe were the moſt barbarous People they had met with in all their Expedition, and the moſt diſtant from the Manners of the *Greeks*. For [y] they do thoſe Things in public, which others do in private, otherwiſe they dare not do them at all: And, in private, they behave themſelves as if they were in pub-

Cæſar G. W. 5 B. *Cæſar*, who ſays that *all the* Britons *painted themſelves with Woad, which makes a blue Dye. Omnes ſe Britanni vitro inficiunt, quod cæruleam efficit colorem.* This Word Dioſc. 2 B. *vitrum* has, I find, puzzled the Commentators; but it ſignifies here the Plant which the *Greeks* call ἰσάτις, in *Engliſh*, *Woad*, a Plant well known to the Dyers, who Marc. Emp. c. 23. uſe great Quantities of it to make their blue Dye. *Herba*, ſays *Marcellus Empiricus*, *quam nos vitrum, Græci Iſatida* Pl. N. H. 22 B. c. 1. *vocant*. The *French* called this Herb, in *Pliny*'s Time, *Glaſtum*, and, to this Day, they call it *Gueſde* as well as *Paſtel*. I am informed that the *Welch*, as well as the Inhabitants of *Lower Britany* in *France*, ſtill call it *Glaſs*, ſo that it is probable the equivocal Application of *vitrum* may have given Occaſion to the equivocal Senſe of the Word *Glaſs*.

[y] Ειτε γὰρ ὄχλῳ ὄντες. This Account of the very odd Manners of this People is tranſcribed almoſt Word for Word by *Euſtathius* in his Notes upon *Dionyſius Periegetes*. Upon this Occaſion I cannot help mentioning what *Strabo* Strabo, 4 B. ſays of the *Iriſh*, φανερῶς μίσγεσθαι ταῖς τι ἄλλαις γυναιξὶ, ᾗ Μητράσι ᾗ Ἀδελφαῖς; but, leſt we ſhould think ourſelves leſs barbarous than our Neighbours, *Cæſar* ſays Cæſar G. W. 5 B. the ſame Thing of the *Britons*.

public. They talk to themſelves, they laugh by themſelves, and dance, wherever they happen to be, as if they were ſhewing their Skill to others. The *Greeks* were eight Days in paſſing through the Enemy's Country, and that which belonged to the *Moſynæcians* their Allies. BOOK V.

AFTER that they arrived among the [z] *Chalybians*. Theſe are few in Number, and ſubject to the *Moſynæcians*: and the greateſt Part of them ſubſiſt by the Manufacture of Iron. From thence they came to the [a] *Tibarenians*. This is a much more campaign Country, and their Towns, near the Sea, are not ſo ſtrong. Theſe the Generals were diſpoſed to attack, that the Army might have the Advantage of ſome Plunder. For this Reaſon they declined receiving the Preſents, which

[z] Εις Χάλυβας. *Strabo* is of Opinion that theſe were the ſame with the *Alizonians* mentioned by *Homer*, Strabo, 12 B.

Αυταὰρ Αλιζώνων Οδίος δὲ Επίτροφος ἦρχον
Τηλόθεν ἐξ Αλυβης, ὅθεν ἀργύρου ἐστὶ γενέθλη.

And that either the Poet writ ἐκ χαλύβης, or that the Inhabitants were originally called *Alybians*. By this Paſſage of *Homer* it ſeems they were, at that Time, as famous for their Mines of Silver, as they were afterwards for thoſe of Iron.

[a] Τιβαρηνούς. Theſe were called, by *Dionyſius Periegetes*, πολυέρνιος Τιβαρηνοί, which Epithet agrees very well with the Account our Author gives of their Country.

BOOK V. which the *Tibarenians* ſent them, as a Token of Hoſpitality: But, having ordered thoſe who brought them, to wait 'till they had conferred together, they offered Sacrifice: and, after many Victims were ſlain, all the Prieſts agreed that the Gods, by no Means, allowed them to make War upon this People. Hereupon, they accepted their Preſents, and marching, as through a Country belonging to their Friends, they came to [b] *Cotyora*, a *Greek* City, and a Colony of the *Sinopians*, ſituated in the Territory of the *Tibarenians*.

THUS far the Army travelled by Land, having, in their Retreat from the Field of Battle near *Babylon* to *Cotyora*, made, in one hundred and twenty-two Marches, ſix hundred and twenty Paraſangas, that is, eighteen thouſand ſix hundred Stadia, in which they ſpent eight Months. Here they ſtaid forty-five Days: During which they firſt offered Sacrifice to the Gods: [c] Then, dividing themſelves, according to their

Arrian *of the* Euxine *Sea.*

[b] Κοτύωρα. This Town was no more than a Village in *Arrian*'s Time, and, as he ſays, a ſmall one.

[c] Κατ' ἔθνη. *Leunclavius* has tranſlated this, I think, pro-

their ſeveral Nations, made Proceſſions, and celebrated *Gymnick* Games. After that they went out to get Proviſions, taking ſome out of *Paphlagonia*, and the reſt out of the Country of the *Cotyorians*; for they refuſed to ſupply them with a Market, or to admit their Sick into the City. BOOK V.

IN the mean Time Embaſſadors arrived from *Sinope*; theſe were in Pain both for the City of the *Cotyorians*, which belonged to them, and paid them Tribute, and for the Country, which they heard was plundered. When they came to the Camp of the *Greeks*, they ſpoke thus, *Hecatonymus*, who was eſteemed a Man of great Eloquence, ſpeaking for the reſt. *Gentlemen! the City of* Sinope *hath ſent us hither firſt to commend you, for that, being* Greeks, *you have overcome the* Barbarians: *Next to congratulate you upon your ſafe Arrival through many, and (as we are informed)*

properly, *Græcis per ſingulas Nationes diſtinctis*; and *Hutchinſon*, who takes Notice of this Tranſlation of *Launclavius* in his Notes without any Mark of Diſapprobation, has however choſen to render it *quiſque pro more gentis*; I own I doubt whether κατὰ ἔθνος ſignifies *pro more gentis*. By the little Acquaintance I have had with the *Greek* Authors, I obſerve that κατὰ τὰ πάτρια is almoſt always the Expreſſion they make Uſe of upon that Occaſion.

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ed) grievous Hardſhips. But we have Reaſon to expect that, as we are Greeks *alſo, we ſhall rather receive Favours, than Injuries from* Greeks: *Particularly, ſince we have never provoked you by any ill Treatment. I muſt acquaint you then, that* Cotyora *is our Colony, and that, having conquered this Country from the* Barbarians, *we have given it to them. For which Reaſon, they pay us the Tribute at which they are taxed, in the ſame Manner with the Inhabitants of* Cerazunt *and* Trebiſond: *So that, whatever Injury you do them, the City of* Sinope *will look upon it as done to themſelves. Now, we are informed that you have entered their Town by Force; that ſome of you are quartered in their Houſes, and that you take what you want, out of the Country, without their Conſent. Theſe Things we cannot approve of, and, if you continue this Behaviour, we ſhall be obliged to enter into an Alliance with* Corylas, *and the* Paphlagonians, *and with any other Nation we can prevail upon to aſſiſt us.*

THEN *Xenophon* roſe up, and ſpoke thus in Behalf of the Soldiers. *We are come hither, O Men of* Sinope! *well ſatiſfied*

fied with having preſerved our Perſons, and our Arms; for, to bring our Booty along with us, and, at the ſame Time, to fight with our Enemies was impoſſible. And now, ſince we arrived among the Greek *Cities, at* Trebiſond, *for Example, we paid for all the Proviſions we had; becauſe they ſupplied us with a Market: And, in Return for the Honours they did us, and the Preſents they gave to the Army, we paid them all Reſpect, abſtaining from thoſe* Barbarians, *who were their Friends, and doing all the Miſchief we were able to their Enemies, againſt whom they led us. Enquire of them what Uſage they have received from us, for the Guides, whom that City has ſent along with us through Friendſhip, are here preſent. But wherever we find no Market provided for us, whether among the* Barbarians *or* Greeks, *we ſupply ourſelves with Proviſions, not through Inſolence, but Neceſſity. Thus we made the* Carduchians, *the* Chaldæans, *and the* Taochians, *(though no Subjects of the King, yet very warlike Nations) our Enemies, by being obliged to take what we wanted, becauſe they refuſed to ſupply us with a Market; while we treated the* Macronians, *though* Barbarians, *as Friends, and took nothing from* BOOK V.

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them by Force, because they supplied us with the best Market they were able. And, if we have taken any Thing from the Cotyorians, *who, you say, are your Subjects, they are themselves the Cause of it: for they have not behaved themselves to us, as Friends; but, shutting their Gates, would neither suffer us to come within their Walls, nor supply us with a Market without: And of this they lay the Fault upon the Person you have sent thither as their Governor. As to what you say concerning our quartering in their Houses by Force, we desired them to receive our Sick under their Roofs: they refusing to open the Gates, we passed through them into the City, without committing any other Act of Violence: And our Sick lodge now in their Houses without putting them to any Expence. We have, it is true, placed a Guard at the Gates, that our People may not be under the Power of your Governor, but that we may be at Liberty to carry them away, whenever we think proper. The rest of us, as you see, encamp, in Order, in the open Air, prepared, if any one does us a Favour, to return it, if an Injury to resent it. You threaten to enter into an Alliance with* Corylas *and the* Paphlagonians, *if you see convenient, against us.*

Know

Know then, that, if you force us to it, we will encounter you both; (for we have already engaged much more numerous Enemies) besides, we have it also in our Power, if we think fit to enter into an Alliance with the Paphlagonian; *for we are informed that he wants to make himself Master both of your City and of the maritime Towns. We shall therefore endeavour, by assisting him in attaining what he desires, to gain his Friendship.* BOOK V.

UPON this, the rest of the Embassadors shewed a visible Dislike of what *Hecatonymus* had said; and another of them advancing, said they were not come to declare War, but to express their Friendship. *And if*, says he, *you think fit to come to* Sinope, *we will receive you in a hospitable Manner, and, for the present, Directions shall be given to the Inhabitants of this Place to supply you with every Thing they can; for we are sensible you advance nothing but what is true.* After this the *Cotyorians* sent Presents to the Army, and the Generals of the *Greeks* also treated the Embassadors with all Hospitality. They all conferred together a considerable Time in a very friendly Manner,

BOOK V. and, among other Things, the Generals enquired concerning the Remainder of the Way, and both of every Thing that related to their reſpective Concerns. And thus ended that Day.

THE next Day the Generals thought proper to call the Soldiers together, and to conſider of the reſt of their March in the Preſence of the *Sinopians*: for, if they determined to travel by Land, they thought theſe might be of Service to conduct them, for they were well acquainted with *Paphlagonia*; and, if by Sea, they imagined they ſhould alſo want the Aſſiſtance of the *Sinopians*, for they alone ſeemed capable of providing a ſufficient Number of Ships to tranſport them. Calling therefore the Embaſſadors, they conſulted together; and the Generals deſired that, as they themſelves were *Greeks*, they would firſt ſhew their Hoſpitality by their Benevolence to *Greeks*, and by giving them the beſt Advice they were able.

THEN *Hecatonymus* roſe up, and firſt made an Apology for having ſaid that

they would enter into an Alliance with the *Paphlagonian*, alledging that he did not ſay this with a View of making War upon the *Greeks*, but to let them ſee, that, having it in their Power to make an Alliance with the *Barbarians*, they preferred that of the *Greeks*. Being called upon to give his Advice, he firſt invoked the Gods: Then ſaid thus. *If the Advice I am going to give you, appears to me the beſt, may I be proſperous; otherwiſe miſerable: For the preſent Counſel ſeems to be of the Nature of thoſe, which are termed* [d] *Holy. If therefore I am found to adviſe you well, I ſhall have many to applaud me, and if ill, many to curſe me. I am ſenſible then that we ſhall have much more Trouble, if you return by Sea; for, in that Caſe, we ſhall be obliged to ſupply you with Ships: Whereas, if you go by Land, it will be incumbent* BOOK V.

[d] Ιερὰ συμβουλή. We find by this Paſſage of *Xenophon*, and by another in *Plato*, that it was a common Saying among the *Greeks*, that *Counſel was a divine Thing*. *If*, ſays the latter to *Demodocus*, *Counſel is called a divine Thing, none can be more ſo than that which relates to the preſent Queſtion*, this was Education, ἀλλὰ μὲν δὴ, ὦ Δημόδοκε, ἣ λέγεται γε συμβουλὴ ἱερὸν χρῆμα εἶναι. Εἴπερ ἄρ' ἣ ἄλλη ἡτισοῦν ἐστιν ἱερὰ ἣ αὐτὴ ἂν εἴη, περὶ ἧς σὺ νῦν συλλαλεῖς. *D'Ablancourt* was ſenſible this Parentheſis could have no Grace in a modern Language, but I doubt whether that Reaſon will be thought to juſtify his leaving it out. Plato *in* Theages.

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cumbent on you to fight your Way through. However, I must speak what I think; for I am well acquainted both with the Country of the Paphlagonians, *and with their Strength. Their Country contains many very fair Plains, and Mountains of a prodigious Height. And first of all I know the Place, where you must, of Necessity, enter it; for there is but one Pass, and that lies between two Points of a Rock exceeding high. These a very few Men, posted there, may defend: and, if the Enemy are once Masters of this Pass, all the Men in the World cannot force their Way. This I can make appear to any one you think proper to send along with me. On the other Side of this Pass, I am well assured, you will find Plains, and, upon them, a Body of Horse, which the* Barbarians *themselves think exceeds all the Cavalry the King is Master of. These, though lately summoned, did not attend him, their Commander being too haughty to obey. But, admit you could even seize the Pass between these Mountains unobserved, and prevent the Enemy, and, afterwards, in the Plain, defeat their Horse, and Foot, whose Numbers amount to above one hundred and twenty thousand Men, you will still find several Rivers in your Way:*

Way: First, the [c] Thermodon, *which is three hundred Feet over: The Passage of which seems to me very difficult, particularly, when you have a numerous Army in Front, and another, in your Rear. Secondly, the* [f] Iris: *This is also three hundred Feet Broad. The third River you will meet with, is the* [g] Halys *not less than two Stadia in Breadth. This you cannot pass without Boats; and who is there to supply you with them? The* [h] Parthenius *is, in like Manner, impassible. This River you would arrive at, if you could pass the* Halys. *So that I do not look upon this Road as only difficult, but absolutely impassable. Whereas, if you go by Sea, you may sail from hence to* Sinope, *and, from* Sinope, *to* Heraclea, *and, from* Heraclea, *there will be no Difficulty, either in going by Land, or by Sea: For there you will find great Numbers of Ships.* BOOK V.

WHEN

[c] Τὸν Θερμώδοντα. See note [p], page 99, on the sixth Book.

[f] Ἶριν. This River rises out of the Kingdom of *Pontus*, and, having received the *Lycus*, runs through the Plain of *Themiscyra*, and, from thence, falls into the *Euxine* Sea. Strabo, 12 B.

[g] Ἅλυν. See note [q], page 99, upon the sixth Book.

[h] Παρθένιον. See note [r], page 100, upon the sixth Book.

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WHEN he had done ſpeaking, ſome ſuſpected he ſaid this out of Friendſhip to *Corylas*, (for there was an Intercourſe of Hoſpitality between them) others that he expected to be rewarded for his Advice, and ſome that he ſaid it, fearing leſt, if they went by Land, they ſhould do ſome Damage to the Country of the *Sinopians*. However the *Greeks* voted to go by Sea. After that *Xenophon* ſaid, *O Men of* Sinope! *The Soldiers have determined to go in the Manner you adviſe. But thus the Caſe ſtands. We are contented to go by Sea, provided we are furniſhed with ſuch a Number of Ships, that not a Man of us ſhall be left behind. But, if it is propoſed, that ſome of us ſhould be left, and ſome ſet ſail, we are reſolved not to go on board at all: Becauſe we are ſenſible that, wherever we are the ſtrongeſt, we ſhall not only be ſafe, but get Proviſions alſo; and that, if we are any where found weaker than our Enemies, we expect no better Uſage than to be made Slaves.* The *Sinopians*, hearing this, deſired the *Greeks* would ſend Ambaſſadors to them, and accordingly they ſent *Callimachus* an *Arcadian*, *Ariſton* an *Athenian*, and *Samylas* an *Achaian*; who ſet out immediately.

In

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IN the mean Time *Xenophon*, considering the great Number of *Greek* heavy-armed Men, of Targeteers, Archers, Slingers, and Horſe, who, by long Experience, were now become good Troops, looked upon it as an Enterprize of great Reputation to add to the Acquiſitions of *Greece*, that of a Country with the Power annexed to it, by building a City upon the *Euxine* Sea, where ſo great an Army could not be got together without a vaſt Expence. He had Reaſon to think this City would grow conſiderable, both from the Number of his own Men, and of the neighbouring Inhabitants. Calling therefore *Silanus* of *Ambracia* to him, the ſame who had been Soothſayer to *Cyrus*, he offered Sacrifice upon this Occaſion, before he communicated his Thoughts to any of the Soldiers. But *Silanus*, fearing this ſhould take Effect, and that the Army ſhould ſettle in ſome Place, acquainted the Soldiers that *Xenophon* propoſed to detain them there, and, by building a City, to acquire Reputation and Power to himſelf. The Deſign of *Silanus* in this was to get to *Greece* as

BOOK V. ſoon as poſſible, having ſaved the three thouſand [1] Daricks, which he received from *Cyrus*, when, ſacrificing by his Order, he told him the Truth concerning the ten Days. As ſoon as the Soldiers were informed of this, ſome thought it was beſt for them to ſtay there; but the greateſt Part diſapproved of it: And *Timaſion* the *Dardanian*, and *Thorax* the *Bœotian*, told ſome Merchants of *Heraclea* and *Sinope*, who were preſent, that, if they did not ſupply the Men with Money ſufficient to buy Proviſions when they ſet ſail, they were in Danger of having ſo great an Army ſettle in their Neighbourhood. For, ſaid they, *Xenophon* is the Author of this Reſolution, and adviſes us, as ſoon as the Ships arrive, immediately to ſpeak to the Army in theſe Terms. *Gentlemen! we obſerve you are at a Loſs both how to get Proviſions for your Voyage, and inrich your Families in ſome Meaſure, when you come Home: But, if you have a Mind to make Choice of ſome Part of the inhabited Country that lies round the* Euxine *Sea, and poſſeſs your ſelves of it, and that*

[1] Δαρεικούς. See note [m], page 9, Vol. I.

that thoſe who are deſirous to return home, may go away, while the reſt ſtay here, we are now furniſhed with Ships for that Purpoſe: So that you have it in your Power to make an unexpected Deſcent upon any Part of the Country you think fit.

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THE Merchants, hearing this, informed their Cities of it: And *Timaſion* of *Dardanus* ſent *Eurymachus* alſo of *Dardanus*, and *Thorax* of *Bœotia* with them to confirm it. As ſoon as the Inhabitants of *Sinope* and *Heraclea* were acquainted with this, they ſent to *Timaſion* to engage him, in Conſideration of a Sum of Money, to perſuade the Army to ſail out of the *Euxine* Sea. He was pleaſed with the Offer, and ſpoke thus in the Aſſembly of the Soldiers. *Gentlemen! we ought not to think of ſtaying here, or to prefer any other Country to* Greece. *I hear ſome People are offering Sacrifice upon this Occaſion, without even acquainting you with their Purpoſe; but I promiſe you, if you ſail from hence the firſt* [k] *Day of the Month,*

[k] Ἀπὸ νουμηνίας. We find by ſeveral Paſſages in *Xenophon* and other Authors, that the Soldiers among the *Greeks*

BOOK V.

Month, to give each of you a [1]*Cyzicene, for your monthly Pay. My Design is to lead you*

Greeks received their Pay monthly: The Intereſt of Money was alſo payable monthly among the *Greeks*, as it was among the *Romans*. As the Payment both of the Principal and Intereſt, and the rigorous Methods allowed by Law to compel it, often occaſioned great Convulſions among the latter, it may not be amiſs to make ſome curſory Obſervations upon this Subject, particularly, ſince *Dacier*, in his Notes upon *Horace*, and many other modern Authors have very much miſrepreſented it; it is certain then that this monthly Intereſt was one *per Cent.* by the Law of the twelve Tables, that is, twelve *per Cent. per Ann.* this they called *unciarium Fœnus*; and, what is very extraordinary, *Livy* ſays that, *by the Eſtabliſhment of this Intereſt, Uſury was made eaſy, unciario fœnore facto levata Uſura erat*; an evident Sign of the Scarcity of Money; but then it muſt be conſidered that the Year, to which this Reflection of *Livy* relates, was ſo early as the 399th of *Rome*. Afterwards, that is, in the 408th Year of *Rome*, *T. Manlius Torquatus* and *C. Plautius* being Conſuls, this monthly Intereſt was reduced to half *per Cent.* that is, to ſix *per Cent. per Ann. Semunciarium ex unciario fœnus factum*. But to return to the νεμηνία, the Year of the *Greeks* was *Luni-Solar*, that is, formed of twelve Synodical Months making in all but 354 Days, with an Intercalation of ſeven Months in nineteen Years, invented by *Meton*, (from whom it was called Μίτωνος ἐνιαυτὸς) to anſwer the annual Difference of eleven Days between the Lunar and Solar Year; this was their civil Year; and, as their new Year began at the firſt new Moon after the Summer Solſtice (the *Romans* beginning theirs at the firſt after the Winter Solſtice) it neceſſarily happened that the firſt Day of the Year of both began about Sun-ſet, for at that Time only the new Moon became viſible. It is very poſſible that the Creſcent with which *Diana* is repreſented, is owing to the Cuſtom of proclaiming the new Moon, particularly, if, as I obſerved upon another Occaſion, *Diana* and the *Egyptian Iſis*, who is often repreſented with a Creſcent upon her Head, were the ſame

Dacier's *Notes upon the 2d Sat. of the 1ſt Book of* Horace.

Tacitus *Annal.* 5 *B.*

Livy 7 *B.* 19 *c.*

Livy 7 *B.* 27 *c.*

Strauchius Brev. Chron. *p.* 126, &c.

Newton's Chronology, *p.* 75, &c.

you into Troas, *from whence I am baniſhed: Where my Fellow-Citizens will aſſiſt you, for I know they will receive me with Pleaſure. Thence I propoſe to carry you to thoſe Parts, where you ſhall inrich yourſelves: For I am acquainted with* Æolia, Phrygia, *and* Troas, *and*

Divinity. This Ceremony of proclaiming the new Moon Tourneſtill continues in the *Levant*, where the *Turks*, whoſe Year is Lunar, publiſh, with great Solemnity, the firſt Appearance of the new Moon of their Month of *Ramazan*, which is their Lent.

fort 14 *Letter.*

[1] Κυζικηνόν. *Heſychius* and *Phavorinus* inform us that the Cyzicene was a Coin famous for being well ſtruck, and that it had a Woman's Head on one Side; to which *Suidas* adds, that, on the other, was the Head of a Lion. *Demoſthenes* tells us they were worth 28 *Attick* Drachms, that is, 18*s.* and 1*d.* Sterling. The Woman's Head is poſſibly *Cybele*, who was ſuppoſed to be drawn by Lions, and who was worſhipped in a particular Manner at *Peſſinus* in *Phrygia*, not far from *Cyzicus*, whoſe tutelar God, however, was, I imagine, *Hercules*, whom they looked upon as the Founder of their City, as may be ſeen by a Medal of *Domitian*, on the Reverſe of which is a *Hercules* with this Inſcription ΤΟΝ ΚΤΙΣΤΗΝ ΚΥΖΙΚΗΝΩΝ. But we have great Reaſon to conclude that the Woman's Head is deſigned for *Cybele* from what we find in *Strabo*, who ſays that near to *Cyzicus* ſtood a Temple of *Cybele* built by the *Argonauts* upon the Mountain *Dindymon*, from which *Cybele* was called *Dindymene*. This being ſo, the Globe and the Fiſh, and particularly the Ears of Corn and Bunches of Grapes with which ſhe is crowned, will be very proper Symbols of univerſal Nature, which, as I endeavoured to ſhew upon another Occaſion, was repreſented by *Cybele*. *D'Ablancourt* is of Opinion that the *Turkiſh Sequin* is derived from *Cyziquin*; but *Menage* ſays that it comes from the *Italian Zecchino*, a *Venetian* Ducat, which takes its Name from *Zecca*, the Place where it is coined.

Demoſt. *in* Phormion.

Arbuthnot.

Strabo, 12 *B.*

Beger Th. Brand. *vol.* I. *p.* 490.

See note [n], *upon this Book.*

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and with all the Country belonging to the Government of Pharnabazus; *with one of them, by being born there, and with the other, by having ſerved there under* Clearchus, *and* Dercellidas.

IMMEDIATELY *Thorax*, the *Bœotian*, (who had a perpetual Conteſt with *Xenophon* for the Command) roſe up, and ſaid, if they ſailed out of the *Euxine* Sea, they might ſettle in the *Cherſoneſus*, a Country of great Beauty and Fertility: Where thoſe, who were willing, might inhabit, and from whence thoſe who were not ſo, might return Home. He added, that it was ridiculous to hunt after Lands among the *Barbarians*, when others, of a great Extent, offered themſelves in *Greece*. *And, 'till you arrive there,* ſays he, *I, as well as* Timaſion, *promiſe you Pay.* This he ſaid from being acquainted with what the Inhabitants of *Heraclea* and *Sinope* had promiſed to *Timaſion* upon Condition the Army ſet ſail. All this Time *Xenophon* was ſilent. Then *Phileſius* and *Lycon*, both *Achaians*, ſaid, it was not to be ſuffered, that *Xenophon*

phon ſhould perſuade the Soldiers in private to ſtay, and offer Sacrifice upon this Occaſion, without letting the Army partake of the Sacrifice, yet ſay nothing of all this in public. So that he was under a Neceſſity of riſing up, and of ſpeaking as follows.

GENTLEMEN! I offer Sacrifice, as you are ſenſible, to the utmoſt of my Abilities, both for you and myſelf, to the End that my Words, my Thoughts, and Actions may be employed in thoſe Things that are moſt for the Credit and Advantage of us all. And even now I was conſulting the Gods *by Sacrifice, whether it would be more expedient to mention this and treat with you about it, or not to concern myſelf at all in the Matter. Here* Silanus, *the Soothſayer, aſſured me, that the Victims, which is of the greateſt Moment, were favourable, (for he knew that I, by being conſtantly preſent at the Sacrifices, was not unacquainted with theſe Things) but informed me, at the ſame Time, that, according to them, ſome Fraud and Treachery ſeemed to threaten me: And in this, indeed, he was in the right, ſince he himſelf deſigned treacherouſly*

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rouſly to accuſe me before you; for he has ſpread a Report that I had already purpoſed to effect this without your Approbation. But the Truth is, when I ſaw you in Want, I conſidered by what Means you might poſſeſs yourſelves of ſome Town, to the End that thoſe among you who are willing, might ſet ſail immediately, and that thoſe who were not ſo, might ſtay 'till they had acquired ſomething to carry home to their Families. But now I find both the Inhabitants of Heraclea *and* Sinope *are ſending us Ships, and that theſe Men promiſe you your Pay from the Beginning of the Month, I look upon it as an advantageous Circumſtance for us to be conducted, with Safety, to the Place we deſire, and to be* [m] *paid for being preſerved. For this Reaſon I not only give over all Thoughts of that kind myſelf, but deſire thoſe who came to me to declare themſelves in Favour of that Meaſure, to deſiſt alſo. For this is my Senſe of the Matter; while you continue together, as*

[m] Μισθὸν τῆς σωτηρίας. This appears to me far preferable to μισθὸν τῆς πορείας; it not only makes the Senſe ſtronger, but ſeems to be the natural Reſult of σωζομένους, which immediately precedes it. I am ſorry to differ both from *Leunclavius* and *Hutchinſon* upon this Occaſion. *D'Ablancourt* has ſaid *de recevoir recompenſe pour retourner en vôtre païs*; which gives the Senſe, but not the Beauty of the *Greek* Expreſſion.

as you are now, in great Numbers, you will be sure to find Esteem, and never to want Provisions; (for Victory carries with it a Right to whatever belongs to the Conquered) But, if you suffer yourselves to be divided, and the Army to be broken into small Bodies, you will neither be able to find Subsistence, or have Reason to be pleased with your Treatment. My Opinion therefore is the same with yours, that we ought to go on to Greece: *And further, if any one stays behind, or is taken endeavouring to desert his Companions before the whole Army arrives in a Place of Safety, that he be punished as an Offender. And whoever is of this Opinion, let him hold up his Hand.* And they all held up their Hands. BOOK V.

HOWEVER *Silanus* cried out, and endeavoured to shew that every one ought to be at Liberty to go away. This the Soldiers would not bear; but threatened him, if they took him endeavouring to make his Escape, to inflict the Punishment on him. After this, when the Inhabitants of *Heraclea* were informed that the *Greeks* had resolved to sail out of the

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Euxine Sea, and that *Xenophon* himſelf had [n] put the Queſtion, they ſent the Ships, but diſappointed *Timaſion* and *Thorax* of the Money they had promiſed them to pay the Soldiers. Hereupon thoſe who undertook for it, were confounded, and afraid of the Army; and, taking with them the reſt of the Generals, who were privy to their former Deſigns, (theſe were all, except *Neon* the *Aſinian*, who commanded under *Cheiriſophus*, then abſent) they came to *Xenophon*, and told him they were ſorry for what had paſſed, and thought the beſt Thing they could do, ſince they had Ships, was to ſail to the River *Phaſis*, and poſſeſs themſelves of the Country belonging to the *Phaſians*; of whom the Son of *Aetes* was, at that Time, King. *Xenophon* made Anſwer that he would mention nothing of this Kind to the Army: *But, ſays he, do you aſſemble them, and, if you think fit, propoſe it.* Upon this, *Timaſion* the *Dardanian* gave his Opinion that they ought not to call the Soldiers together; but that each of the Generals ſhould

[n] Επιψηφικως. See note [d], page 7, Vol. II.

ſhould firſt endeavour to perſuade his Book
own Captains to come into it. So they V.
departed to put this in Execution.

In the mean Time the Soldiers were informed of what was in Agitation: and *Neon* told them that *Xenophon*, having prevailed upon the reſt of the Generals, deſigned to deceive the Army, and carry them back to the *Phaſis*. The Soldiers hearing this, reſented it, and holding Aſſemblies, and private Meetings among themſelves, gave great Reaſon to apprehend they would break out into the ſame Violences they had committed upon the Perſons of the Heralds of the *Colchians*, and the Commiſſaries of Proviſions, all of whom they had ſtoned to Death, except thoſe who eſcaped to the Sea. As ſoon as *Xenophon* perceived this, he reſolved immediately to call the Army together, and not ſuffer them to meet of their own Accord: So he ordered the Cryer to aſſemble them: They readily obeyed the Summons. Then *Xenophon*, without accuſing the other Generals of coming to him privately, ſpoke to them in the following Manner:

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I am informed, Gentlemen! that ſome People accuſe me of a deſign to deceive you, and carry you to the Phaſis. *Hear me therefore, for Heaven's Sake, and, if I appear guilty, I do not deſire to depart hence, before I receive the Puniſhment that is due to my Crime: But, if you find they accuſe me wrongfully, I hope you will treat them as they deſerve. I make no Doubt, but you all know in what Quarter the Sun riſes, and where it ſets; and that the Way to* Greece *lies Weſtward, that to the* Barbarians, *Eaſtward. Is there any one therefore who can make you believe that the Sun riſes where it ſets, and ſets where it riſes? You are alſo ſenſible that the North Wind carries you out of the* Euxine *Sea to* Greece, *and the South to the* Phaſis; *and when the Wind is in the North, you always ſay it is fair for* Greece. *Can any one therefore ſo far impoſe upon you, as to perſuade you to go on Board when the Wind is in the South? But ſuppoſe I embark you in a Calm: I ſhall however ſail but in one Ship, while you ſail, at leaſt, in a hundred. How therefore can I either compel you to keep me company againſt your Conſent, or deceive you with regard to the Place to which*

which I carry you? But, let us further sup- BOOK
pose that I do deceive you, and, by some V.
magick Art, carry you to the Phasis, *and also that we land there: You will soon be sensible that you are not in* Greece; *and I, who have deceived you shall be but one Man, while you, who have been deceived by me, will be near ten thousand with your Arms in your Hands. By what Means therefore can one Man court Punishment more effectually, than by forming Designs so prejudicial both to himself, and you? But these Rumours are spread by weak Men, who envy me because I am honoured by you; though without Reason: For which of them do I hinder from proposing any Thing for your Advantage, if he can, from fighting both for you or himself, if he is willing, or from watching for your Safety, if he is disposed to undertake that Care. Why should I hinder them? When you chuse your Commanders do I oppose the Pretensions of any Person? I° resign; let him take the Command: Only let him make it appear he can do something for your Advantage. But*

I

° Παρίημι. *Nicias*, at the Close of one of his Speeches to the *Athenians*, uses this Word in the same Sense, with the Addition of ἀρχήν· εἰ δέ τῳ ἄλλως δοκεῖ, παρίημι αὐτῷ τὴν ἀρχήν. Thucydides, 6 B.

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I have ſaid enough of this. If any of you thinks himſelf in Danger of being deceived, or that any other Perſon has deceived him in this, let him declare it. But ſince you have heard enough of this Subject, I deſire you would not depart 'till I have acquainted you with a Thing, that I find begins to ſhew itſelf in the Army; which, if it makes any Progreſs, and becomes what it threatens to be, it is high Time for us to take proper Meaſures, that we may not appear both to Gods, and Men, to Friends, and Enemies, the moſt abandoned, and moſt infamous of all Men, and conſequently incur a general Contempt. The Soldiers, hearing this, wondered what it might be, and deſired him to go on: ſo he reſumed his Diſcourſe. *You know there were ſome Towns upon the Mountains belonging to thoſe* Barbarians *who were in Alliance with the Inhabitants of* Cerazunt; *from whence ſome of the People came down to us, and ſold us Cattle, and other Things. Some of you, I believe, went into the neareſt of theſe Towns, and, after you had bought Proviſions there, returned to the Camp.* Clearatus *one of the Captains, finding this Place both ſmall, and unguarded, be-*

cauſe the Inhabitants looked upon themſelves to be in Friendſhip with us, marched againſt them in the Night, with a Deſign to plunder it, without acquainting any of us with his Purpoſe. For he determined if he had made himſelf Maſter of the Place, to have returned no more to the Army; but to have gone on board the Ship, in which his Companions were ſailing by the Coaſt, and, with his Booty, to have eſcaped out of the Euxine *Sea. And all this was concerted between him and his Companions who were on board, as I am now informed. Calling therefore together as many as he could prevail upon to follow him, he led them againſt the Town. But the Day ſurprizing them in their March, the Inhabitants got together, and defended themſelves from their ſtrong Places ſo well, both with miſſive Weapons, and their Swords, that* Clearatus *himſelf and ſeveral others were ſlain: Part of them however eſcaped to* Cerazunt. *This happened the ſame Day we left* Cerazunt, *to march hither. Some of thoſe alſo, who were to ſail along the Coaſt, were ſtill in that City, having not as yet weighed Anchor. After this, as the Inhabitants of* Cerazunt *inform us, three of the Elders*

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Elders came from the Town, desiring to be introduced to the Assembly of the Greeks; *but, not finding us, they told the Citizens of* Cerazunt, *they wondered what we meant by attacking them. These assured them that the Attempt was not countenanced by public Authority; with which they were very well satisfied, and resolved to sail hither, in order to give us an Account of what had passed, and to let us know that they gave leave to those, who were willing, to carry off the Dead and bury them. It happened that some of the* Greeks, *who had fled to* Cerazunt, *were still there. These, perceiving whither the* Barbarians *proposed to go, had the Confidence to throw Stones at them themselves, and to encourage others to do the same. By this Means these Ambassadors, being three in Number, were stoned to Death. After the Fact was committed, some of the Inhabitants of* Cerazunt, *came to the generals, and informed us of what had happened. These Proceedings gave us great Concern, and we consulted together with them, in what Manner the* Greeks, *who were slain, might be buried. While we were sitting in Consultation without the Quarter of the heavy-armed Men, on a*

a ſudden, we heard a great Uproar, and People crying out knock [p] *them down, knock them down, ſtone them, ſtone them; and immediately we ſaw great Numbers running to thoſe who cried out, ſome with Stones in their Hands, others taking them up. Upon this the Inhabitants of* Cerazunt, [q] *having been Witneſſes of what had happened in their own Town, were frighted, and ran to their Ships: Some of us alſo, I do aſſure you, were not without Fear. For my Part, I went direct-*

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[p] Παῖε, Παῖε, βάλλε, βάλλε. Literally *attack them both Sword in Hand and with miſſive Weapons; cominus eminuſque inceſſe*, which I ſhould think, might do as well as *cæde, cæde, feri, feri*, in the *Latin* Tranſlators: I have conſidered the *Greeks* here as a Mob, which they were upon this Occaſion, and have conſequently made uſe of Terms very familiar to an *Engliſh* Mob in Tumults. For the ſame Reaſon I think *d'Ablancourt* has ſaid very properly *tüe, tüe:* though I am very ſenſible that the *French* Troops uſe this Word when they purſue the Enemy, as they call it, *l'epée dans les reins.*

[q] Ως ἂν ἐωρακότες τὸ παρ' ἑαυτοῖς πρᾶγμα. If the *Latin* Tranſlators, by rendering this *ut qui Facinus apud ſe deſignatum etiam vidiſſent*, mean *perpetratum*, I think that Signification of the Word *deſigno* is too uncommon for a Tranſlation; but, if they mean it in the ordinary Acceptation of the Word, the Fact was not only *deſignatum*, but *commiſſum*; for what is ſaid of the Fear of the Inhabitants of *Cerazunt*, viſibly relates to the Outrage committed by the *Greeks* upon the Perſons of the three Ambaſſadors, who were ſtoned to Death in their Town. *D'Ablancourt* has, I think, ſaid much better, *inſtruits parce qui s'étoit paſſé dans leur ville.*

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directly up to them, and asked them what the Matter was? Some of those I enquired of, knew nothing of it; yet had Stones in their Hands. At last meeting with one, who did know, he told me that the Commissaries of Provisions oppressed the Army in a most grievous manner. While he was saying this, one of the Soldiers perceived the Commissary Zelarchus *retiring towards the Sea, and cried out; the rest, hearing this, as if a wild Boar, or a Stag had been rouzed, ran at him. The Citizens of* Cerazunt, *seeing the Soldiers making towards them, and thinking themselves aimed at, fled in all Haste, and ran into the Sea. Some of our Men ran in after them, and those, who could not swim, were drowned. What do you think these Men were afraid of? They had committed no Crime; they must imagine that some Madness, like that of Dogs, had seized our Men. If these Things continue, consider what will be the Condition of the Army. You will not have it in your Power, by a general Consent, to make either War or Peace, as you see convenient: But every private Man may lead the Army upon whatever Enterprize he pleases. And if, at any time, Ambassadors come*

come to you to sue for Peace, or for any Thing else, any one may put them to Death, and thereby prevent your being informed of their Demands. The Consequence of which will be, that those, whom you by a general Voice, appoint to command you, will be no longer regarded: But whoever erects himself to be your General, and pleases to cry stone them, stone them, may, if he finds the same Obedience that was lately given, put to Death not only your Commander, but any private Man, untried. Consider what Services these self-elected Generals have done for us. If Zelarchus, *the Commissary, is guilty, he has, by sailing away, escaped Punishment: If he is Innocent, he has left the Army from the Fear of being unjustly put to Death, without Trial. Those who have stoned the Ambassadors, have done you this Piece of Service, they have made it unsafe for you alone, of all the* Greeks, *to go to* Cerazunt *without a Force sufficient to protect you; and not less so even with* [r] *a Herald to bring off your*

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[r] Σὺν κηρυκίῳ. Κηρύκιον or Κηρύκειον, for it is written both ways, was the Caduceus, which Heralds carried in their Hands, when they were sent, upon public Occasions, from one Army to another. It is particularly described by the *Greek* Scholiast upon *Thucydides*; but so

BOOK V. *your Dead, whom, before this, the ſame Perſons who killed them, gave you leave to bury: For who that had a Hand in killing Heralds, will ſerve in that Capacity? However, we have deſired the Citizens of* Cerazunt *to bury them. If theſe things are right, give them a public Sanction, that, as Attempts of this Kind are to be expected, every Man may be upon his Guard, and endeavour to pitch his Tent upon Places of Advantage and Strength. But, if you look upon them rather as the Actions of wild Beaſts, than of Men, conſider how to put a ſtop to them? Otherwiſe, how, in the Name of the Gods, ſhall we offer Sacrifice with Chearfulneſs, if we are guilty of Impiety? Or how ſhall we fight with our Enemies, if we kill one another? What City will receive us as Friends, when they ſee us guilty of ſuch Enormities? Who will bring Proviſions to us, with any Confidence, if we are found to offend in Things of ſo great Moment? As to the Applauſe which we promiſed ourſelves with ſo much Confidence, who will*

many Bas-reliefs, and other Monuments of Antiquity, repreſent *Mercury* with his Caduceus in his Hand, that I think it needleſs to tranſlate what he ſays of it. It is reported to have been a Preſent from *Apollo* to *Mercury*, in exchange for the Harp, which Tradition I find, by *Diodorus Siculus*, was derived from the *Egyptians*.

Diod. Sic. l. 1 B.

will ſpeak well of us if we diſhonour our- BOOK V.
ſelves by ſuch Actions? For I am well aſſured that we ſhould condemn others, were they guilty of them.

UPON this, they all roſe up, and ſaid the Authors of theſe Diſorders ſhould be puniſhed; that it ſhould be unlawful to begin ſuch Enormities for the future, and that thoſe who were guilty of it, ſhould be put to death. They then ordered that the generals ſhould bring them all to their Trial; where it ſhould be enquired whether any Perſon had received any other Injury ſince the Death of *Cyrus*; and appointed the Captains to be the Judges. At the ſame Time, upon [s] *Xenophon*'s Motion, and the Concurrence of

[s] Πχραινῦντ@ δὲ Ξενοφῶντ@ —— ἔδοξε κ᾽ καθαίρειν τὸ ςράτευμα. *Xenophon* ſeems to imitate *Agamemnon*, upon this Occaſion, who, as *Homer* tells us, having at laſt ſent Homer *Chryſeis* back to her Father with a Hecatomb, to appeaſe Il. α. the Anger of *Apollo*, orders the *Greek* Army to be purified, and it was purified accordingly;

Λαὸς δ᾽ Ατρείδης ἀπολυμαίνεσθαι ἄνωγεν,
Οι δ᾽ ἀπολυμαίναντο, κ᾽ εἰς ἅλα λύματ᾽ ἔβαλλον.

Thus tranſlated by Mr. *Pope*,

The Hoſt to expiate, next the King prepares,
With pure Luſtrations, and with ſolemn Pray'rs,
Waſh'd by the briny Wave, the pious Train
Are cleans'd; and caſt th' Ablutions in the Main.

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of the Prieſts, it was reſolved to purify the Army. And the Army was purified accordingly.

THEY further decreed that the Generals themſelves ſhould be called to an Account for their paſt Conduct; and, upon their Trial, *Phileſius* and *Xanthicles* were condemned in a Fine of twenty Mines, to the Amount of which ſum they had imbezelled [t] the Effects that had been taken

There can be no doubt, as Mr. *Pope* has very properly obſerved from *Euſtathius*, that λύματα is derived from λέω, which juſtifies him in the Uſe of the Word *Ablutions*, a Word much more decent than thoſe made Uſe of, upon this Occaſion, by all former Tranſlators. It was a prevailing Opinion, it ſeems, among the Ancients, that the Water of the Sea had a ſovereign Virtue in Expiations: It was from this Opinion that *Iphigenia* ſays in *Euripides*

Iph. *in* Taur. 5. *Act. Sc.* 1.

Θάλασσα κλύζει πάντα τ' ἀνθρώπων κακά.

Herodot. *in* Erato.

[t] Τῶν Γαυλιτικῶν χρημάτων. The ancient Lexicons ſay that Γαῦλος ſignifies a certain Kind of Ship uſed by the *Phœnicians*, but I find Γαυλὸς in *Herodotus* for a *Phœnician Ship*, where he ſays that *Dionyſius of* Phocæa—*ſailed to* Phœnicia, *and, having ſunk the Merchant Ships, and taken a great Booty, ſailed to* Sicily, Διονύσιος δὲ ὁ Φωκαιεὺς—ἔπλεε εἰς Φοινίκην· γαυλὲς δὲ ἐνθαῦτα καταδύσας, καὶ χρήματα λαβὼν πολλὰ, ἔπλεε εἰς Σικελίην; ſo that γαυλικὰ χρήματα may, no doubt, ſignify the Freight of thoſe Ships; but, in this Place, I imagine, it means the *Cargoes* of thoſe Ships the *Greeks* had taken, which Cargoes our Author in the Beginning of this Book, calls ἀγώγιμα; he alſo ſays, in the ſame Place, that *the* Greeks, *having taken out the Cargoes of theſe Ships, appointed Guards to take Care of them.* It is very probable that *Phileſius* and *Xanthicles*

taken out of the Ships, and committed to their Charge. *Sophænetus* was fined ten Mines, for that, being chosen a Commander, he had neglected his Duty. Some accused *Xenophon*, complaining they had been beaten by him, and brought their Accusation against him for abusing them. Upon this, *Xenophon* rising up, desired the first Person, who appeared against him, to acquaint the Judges where he had been beaten. He answered, *where we were dying with Cold, and there was Abundance of Snow.* *Xenophon* replied: *If, during the Storm you speak of, when we had no Victuals, nor so much Wine as would serve us to smell to; when many of us were spent with Labour, and the Enemy at our Heels, if, in that Season I was abusive, I own myself more* [u] *vicious than Asses, which,*

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thicles might have the Command of these Guards, and consequently the Charge of these Effects, and that they might have imbezzled as much of them as amounted to twenty Mines; if the Reader will cast his Eye on note [t], page 35, on the first Book, he will find that χρήματα is often made use of by the best Authors to signify *Effects*. There seems to be so great a Relation between this Passage, and that in the Beginning of this Book, that I cannot approve of *Pecuniam de Navigiis coactam* in *Leunclavius* and *Hutchinson*, and much less of *du prix des Navires* in *d'Ablancourt*.

[u] Τῶν ὄνων ὑβριστικώτερον εἶναι. Every Body knows that Asses, and Mules, their Offspring, have such an inbred Viciousness, that no Fatigue can subdue it.

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which, through Viciouſneſs, are ſaid to be inſenſible of Fatigue. However ſay, for what Reaſon you were beaten. Did I demand any Thing of you, and beat you, becauſe you refuſed it? Did I inſiſt upon your reſtoring any Thing? Was it in ſtruggling to ſubdue you to my Paſſion, or when I was drunk, that I abuſed you? And, upon his ſaying that it was nothing of all this, *Xenophon* aſked him whether he belonged to the heavy-armed Men? He anſwered, no: If to the Targeteers; neither, ſays he: but I was driving a Mule, at the Deſire of my Comrades, being a free Man. Upon this, *Xenophon* called him to Mind, and aſked him, are you not the Man, who carried the ſick Perſon? The ſame, ſays he, for you forced me to it, and threw about the Baggage, that belonged to my Comrades. But, ſays *Xenophon*, in this Manner I threw about their Baggage: I diſtributed it to others to carry, with Orders to return it to me: And having received every Thing ſafe, I reſtored them to you, after you had ſhewn me the Man I gave you in Charge: But I deſire, ſays he, you will hear how this Matter was, for it is well worth while.

One

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ONE of the Men, being unable to continue his March, was left behind. This Man I knew no otherwise than that he belonged to the Army; however, I obliged you to carry him that he might not perish: For, as I remember, the Enemy were at our Heels. This the other confeſſed. *Then,* ſays *Xenophon, after I had ordered you to go before, I quickly overtook you again, as I came up with the Rear-Guard, and found you digging a Pit, with a Deſign to bury the Man; and ſtopping I commended you: But the Man, drawing in his Leg, while we ſtood by, all who were preſent, cried out, that he was alive; and you ſaid whatever you thought fit, as I will not carry him. Upon which I ſtruck you, you ſay, and you ſay true: For you ſeemed to me to be ſenſible the Man was alive.* But, ſays the other, Did he die the leſs, after I ſhewed him to you? *We muſt all die,* replies *Xenophon, but are we for that Reaſon to be buried alive?* At this they all cried out, that he had not beaten him ſo much as he deſerved. Then *Xenophon* deſired the reſt to inform the Judges for what Reaſon each of them had

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been beaten; but they not riſing up, he ſpoke thus:

I own, Gentlemen! that I have ſtruck a great many of the Men for not keeping their Ranks. Theſe ought to have been contented with being preſerved by your means, while you marched in Order and fought where it was neceſſary; but, inſtead of that, they wanted to leave their Ranks, and run before you for Plunder, that they might have the Advantage over you. Had we all done the ſame, we had all been deſtroyed. I own alſo that finding ſome overcome with Sloth, unwilling to riſe, and ready to abandon themſelves to the Enemy, I ſtruck them, and forced them to march. For, being myſelf once obliged, when it was exceſſive cold, to ſtay for ſome of the Men, who were getting their Baggage ready, and ſitting, for a conſiderable Time, I found myſelf ſcarce able to riſe and ſtretch out my Legs. Having therefore had the Experience of this in myſelf, afterwards, when I ſaw any one ſitting down, and indulging his Sloth, I drove him before me; for Motion and vigorous Efforts created Warmth and

and [x] *Suppleneſs, while Sitting down and Reſt, I obſerved, made the Blood to congeal, and the Toes to rot off: Which you are ſenſible was the Caſe of a great many. Others, who ſuffered themſelves to be left behind through Lazineſs, and, by that Means, hindered you, who were in the Van, and us, who were in the Rear, from advancing, I might poſſibly ſtrike with my Fiſt, that they might not be ſtruck by the Spear of the Enemy. Theſe therefore, who have been thus preſerved, may, if they have ſuffered any unjuſt Treatment from me, now be relieved; whereas, had they fallen under the Power of the Enemy, what Relief could they have had, though their Treatment had been ever ſo grievous? I ſpeak to you in all Simplicity. If I have puniſhed any one for his*

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[x] Υγρότητα. Υγρότης, in this Place, is uſed by *Xenophon* in the ſame Senſe in which the *Greeks* ſay ὑγραὶ ἀγκάλαι, which *Horace* has finely tranſlated in that Ode, where he repreſents the falſe *Neæra* holding him in her Arms, while ſhe ſwears Fidelity to him. 5 *B.* 15 *Od.*

Arctius atque hederæ procera aſtringitur Ilex,
Lentis adhærens Brachiis.

And when our Author, in his Art of Horſemanſhip, recommends a Colt that moves his Knees *with freedom*, he ſays τὰς μὲν γόνατα ἂν βαδίζων ὁ ἵππος ὑγρῶς κάμπτῃ.

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[y] Πρωρεύς. Πρωρεὺς in *Greek*, and *Proreta* in *Latin*, ſignify an Officer, whoſe Buſineſs it was to keep a look-out, as the Sailors call it, at the Head of the Ship. I am informed that we have no Term, in our naval Inſtitution, that properly explains it; that of *Pilot*, the Gentlemen of the Navy tell me, comes the neareſt to it.

[z] *Billets to give your Votes in their Behalf. However, in reality, you neither aſſiſted them in eſcaping the Puniſhment due to their Irregularity, or me in inflicting it. Thus, by ſuffering their Inſolence, you have given a Sanction to their Remiſſneſs: For I am of Opinion, if you obſerve, you will find that thoſe who were then moſt remarkable for their Neglect of Duty, are now ſo for their Inſolence. An Inſtance of this you ſee in* Boïſcus *the* Theſſalian *Boxer: He then contended, under pretence of Sickneſs, not to carry his Shield, and now, I am informed, he has ſtripped ſeveral of the Inhabitants of* Cotyora. *If you are wiſe, therefore, your Treatment of this Man will be the Reverſe of that beſtowed on Dogs; for theſe, when they are curſed, are tied up in the Day-time, and let looſe in the Night: Where-*

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[z] Ψήφους. Ψῆφος ſignifies literally *a Pebble*; and, as the *Greeks* gave their Votes with theſe, their Votes came to be called ψῆφοι; this literally tranſlated would not be intelligible to an *Engliſh* Reader, ſo that, it ſeems neceſſary to render it in ſuch a manner, as may relate to our Cuſtoms; and, as every Perſon, who votes by Ballot, puts a Billet into the Ballot-box ſignifying his Senſe of the Queſtion; I thought ψῆφοι could not, upon this Occaſion, be properly tranſlated by any other Word than *Billets*. *D'Ablancourt* ſeems to have been ſenſible of the Difficulty of tranſlating ψῆφοι with Propriety, by his leaving it out.

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Whereas, if you do well, you will tie him up in the Night, and let him loose in the Day. I own, I am surprised to find, that, if I have given Offence to any of you, you call it to Mind, and publish it: But, if I have defended any from the Cold, or from the Enemy, or relieved them, when they were Sick, or in Want, these Things are remembered by none of you: If I have commended any for a proper Behaviour, or honoured brave Men to the utmost of my Power, these Things also are not remembered: Yet it is certain, there is more Honesty, Justice, Piety, and Pleasure in remembering good, than ill Offices.

UPON this the Assembly rose, and called to Mind what was passed, so *Xenophon* was [a] acquitted, and all was well.

[a] Περιεγένετο. Both the *Latin* Translators have said *hic Exitus erat*: I have rather chosen to render it in the same Sense, in which *Thucydides* uses the Word in the Speech of the *Corinthians* to the *Lacedæmonians*, where they tell them that, in the War between them and the *Athenians*, they often owed the *Advantages they gained* to the Oversights of the Enemy, rather than to the Assistance they received from the *Lacedæmonians*: ἢ πρὸς αὐτὸς

Thucydides, 1 B.

αὐτὰς τὰς Αθηναίας πολλὰ ἡμᾶς ἤδη τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασιν αὐτῶν μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ ἀφ' ὑμῶν τιμωρίᾳ περιγεγενημένας. So that, I imagine, *Xenophon* means that, at his Trial, he *had the Advantage* over his Enemies, that is, he was acquitted.

The End of the Fifth Book.

THE EXPEDITION OF CYRUS.

BOOK VI.

FROM this Time, ſome of the *Greeks*, while they ſtaid here, ſubſiſted themſelves by the Proviſions they bought in the Market, and others, by thoſe they got in plundering the Country of *Paphlagonia*. On the other Side, the *Paphlagonians* loſt no Opportunity of robbing the Straggiers, and, in the Night-time, endeavoured to annoy

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those who were encamped in Places more advanced than the reſt. Theſe Proceedings increaſed the ill Blood that was between them. Upon this, *Corylas*, who was at that Time Governor of *Paphlagonia*, ſent Ambaſſadors to the *Greeks* in coſtly Robes, and well mounted, with Inſtructions to acquaint them that *Corylas* deſired neither to do an Injury to the *Greeks*, or receive any from them. To this the Generals anſwered, that they would conſider of it with the Army. In the mean Time, they entertained them with all Hoſpitality, and invited ſuch of the Army as they judged moſt proper, then, having killed ſome of the Oxen, they had taken, and other Cattle, they gave them a handſome Entertainment, the Company lying [a] on Beds made of Bruſhwood covered with Graſs and Leaves, and drinking out of horn Cups which they found in the Country.

As ſoon as the Libations were over, and they had ſung the Paean, two *Thra-*

cians

[a] Στιβάσιν. This is the Explication given by *Hesychius* and *Phavorinus* of ταῖς.

cians firſt roſe up, and danced with their Arms to the Sound of a Flute: They capered very high, and with great Agility; then made Uſe of their Swords. At laſt, one of them ſtruck the other, in ſuch a Manner that every one thought he had killed him, (but the Stroke was given with Art) upon which the *Paphlagonians* cried out; and the other, having deſpoiled him of his Arms, went out [b] ſinging a Song of Triumph in Honour of *Sitalces*: then other *Thracians* carried off the Man as if he had been dead, though indeed he was not hurt. After this, ſome [c] *Ænians* and *Magneſians* roſe up,

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[b] Ἀδων Σιτάλκαν. *Herodotus*, *Thucydides* and *Diodorus Siculus* ſpeak much in Commendation of *Sitalces* King of *Thracia*, in whoſe Honour, no doubt, this Song of Victory was compoſed by the *Thracians*; *Thucydides* tells us that he was ſlain in a Battle againſt the *Triballians*, and that his Nephew *Seuthes* ſucceeded him. As this happened the firſt Year of the 89th Olympiad, that is, the eighth of the *Peloponneſian* War, and only twenty Years before the Time of this Expedition, it is poſſible this *Seuthes* may be the Prince in whoſe Service the Greeks engaged, as we ſhall find in the ſeventh Book; though I am ſenſible that *Thucydides* makes him the Son of *Spardacus*, and *Xenophon* of *Maſades*.

Herodot. in Melpo. Thucydides, 2 B. Diod. Sic. 12 B. Thucydides, 4 B.

[c] Αἰνιᾶνες ἡ Μάγνητες. Poſſibly the firſt might belong to *Ænea*, a Town, ſaid by *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus*, to have been built by *Æneas*, after the taking of Troy. Dion. Hal. 1 B.

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up, and [d] danced in their Arms what they call the *Carpæan* Dance; the Manner

[d] Οἱ ὠρχοῦντο τὴν καρπαίαν καλουμένην ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις. The Pantomime Repreſentation of the Ancients is ſo often confounded, in Tranſlations of their Works into modern Languages, with what is now called *Dancing*, that I think myſelf obliged to explain my Senſe of this Paſſage, in order to prevent my Tranſlation of it from being thought to fall under the general Miſtake. It is certain that the *Greeks* and *Romans* had, beſides their Tragedies and Comedies, a mute Pantomime Repreſentation, which was called by the former ὄρχησις, and by the latter, *Saltatio*. This is that Repreſentation, in Praiſe of which *Lucian* has written a particular Treatiſe: What he deſigned for Praiſe, we may make uſe of for Information. After having run through a Detail of the vaſt Knowledge an Ορχηστης or Pantomime ought to be Maſter of, he ſays that, as his Profeſſion conſiſts in Imitation, and, as he undertakes to repreſent, by his Geſtures, what the Chorus ſings or recites, his chief Buſineſs is Perſpicuity, to the End that none of his Actions may ſtand in need of an Explanation, but that the Spectators may, like the *Pythian* Oracle, underſtand the Pantomime though mute, and hear him though he does not ſpeak. By the way, the *Greek* Verſe attributed to the *Pythian* Oracle, to which *Lucian* alludes, is preſerved by *Plutarch*,

Lucian περὶ ὀρχήσεως.

Καὶ καφῶς συνίημι κ᾽ ὐ λαλέοντος ἀκούω.

Upon this Occaſion *Lucian* tells a Story of a famous Pantomime in *Nero*'s Time, who, to ſhew the Excellence of his Art to *Demetrius* the *Cynick*, commanded the Muſic, and even the Chorus to be ſilent, while he repreſented *by himſelf* (ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ ὠρχήσατο) the Amour of *Venus* and *Mars*, the *Sun* giving Information, and *Vulcan* catching them both in a Net, the Gods ſtanding by, *Venus* bluſhing, and *Mars* trembling and aſking Forgiveneſs; *Lucian* adds, that *Demetrius* was ſo well pleaſed with the Performance, that he cried out, *I not only ſee, but hear what you repreſent, for you ſeem even to ſpeak with your Hands.*

The Reader will pardon this ſhort Diſſertation upon an Art,

ner of which was as follows. One of them, having laid down his Arms, ſows, and drives a Yoke of Oxen, looking often behind him, as if he were afraid: Then a Robber approaches, whom the other perceiving, he catches up his Arms, and, advancing, fights with him 'in Defence of his Oxen, (and all this theſe Men performed in Time to the Flute.) At laſt, the Robber binds the Plow-

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Art, which is ſo far loſt that it is thought by many never to have exiſted. *Lucian* applies the Word ὀρχούμενος with great Humour to the unfortunate Companion of his Captivity and his Labour, as he calls him, τὸν ἄθλιον κοινωνὸν καὶ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας, καὶ τῆς ἀγροικίας, I mean the poor Aſs, that was thrown down the Precipice, upon which he ſays ὁ δὲ, ἀπῆει κατω, τὸν θανατον ὀρχούμενος, Lucian which I do not tranſlate, becauſe I cannot. The Dance ὀνος. here mentioned by *Xenophon* is, by *Heſychius*, called a *Macedonian* Dance; it is ſo particularly deſcribed by *Xenophon*, that I think I may venture to call it, after him, *the Carpæan* Dance, without tranſlating the Word.

[c] Μάχεται πρὸ τῦ ζεύγους. Both the *Latin* Tranſlators have ſaid *ante jugum dimicat*, which *d'Ablancourt* has followed; but, as πρὸ is very frequently uſed in the Senſe I have given it, upon this Occaſion, that is, for ὑπὲρ, I thought it more natural to ſay that the Huſbandman fought with the Robber *in Defence* of his Oxen, than *before them*, particularly as the Oxen ſeem to be the Prize contended for; ſince, when the Robber gets the better, he drives away the Oxen; but, if there can be any doubt whether πρὸ is uſed in this Senſe, the following Paſſage in *Euripides* will clear it up; it is in *Alceſt.*, where *Admetus* ſays to *Pheres*, Euripides in Alceſt.

Οὐκ ἤθελησας, ἀλλ' ἐτόλμησας θανεῖν
Τὲκνου πρὸ πτεινὸς. ———

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man, and carries him off with the Oxen. Sometimes, the Plowman overcomes the Robber, and, faſtening him to the Oxen, ties his Hands behind him, and ſo drives him away.

AFTER this, *Myſus* entered with a Buckler in each Hand, and danced ſometimes, as if he had been engaged with two Adverſaries; then uſed his Bucklers, as if engaged with only one; ſometimes he [f] whirled round; then threw himſelf head foremoſt and fell upon his Feet, without parting with the Bucklers: This made a fine ſight. Laſt of all he danced the *Perſian* Dance, ſtriking his Bucklers againſt each other, and, in dancing, fell upon his Knees, then ſprung up again, and in all this he kept Time to the Flute. He was ſucceeded by ſome *Mantineans* and other *Arcadians*, who, being dreſſed

[f] Τοτὲ δὲ ἐδίνεῖτο καὶ ἐξεπλέϊτο. *Homer* tells us that *Vulcan* repreſented two Dancers performing a Dance of this Kind upon *Achilles*'s Shield,

Homer Il. Σ. ——— δοιὼ δὲ κυβιστῆρε κατ' αὐτὰς
Μολπῆς ἐξάρχοντε ἐδίνεῦον κατὰ μέσσας.

Tournefort 14 *Letter.* And *Tournefort* ſays that the *Turkiſh* Derviſes preſerve this Kind of Dancing, which they make a religious Ceremony; and that, upon a Signal from their Superior, they turn round with an amazing Velocity.

dreſſed in the handſomeſt Armour they could provide, roſe up, and advanced in Time to a Flute that played a Point of War. They ſung the Pæan, and danced in the ſame Manner that is practiſed in ſolemn Proceſſions. The *Paphlagonians* were amazed to ſee all theſe Dances performed by Men in Arms. Upon this, *Myſus*, perceiving their Aſtoniſhment, prevailed upon one of the *Arcadians*, who had a Woman Dancer, to let him bring her in; which he did accordingly, after he had dreſſed her in the handſomeſt Manner he was able, and given her a light Buckler. She danced the [g] *Pyrrhick* Dance with great Agility: upon which there was great clapping; and the *Paphlagonians* aſked whether the Women alſo charged with their Troops. The others anſwered, that it was they, who drove the King out of their Camp. This was the End of that Night's Entertainment.

THE

[g] Πυῤῥίχιον. This Dance is called by *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* and *Heſychius* ἐνόπλιος ὄρχησις, the firſt leaving it in doubt whether *Minerva* or the *Curetes* were the Authors of it; and the ſecond whether one *Pyrrichus* a *Cretan*, or *Pyrrhus*, the Son of *Achilles*, was the Inventor of it.

Heſych. πυῤῥιχίζειν. Dionyſ. H. 7 B.

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THE next Day the Generals brought the Ambaſſadors to the Army: When the Soldiers came to a Reſolution neither to do any Injury to the *Paphlagonians*, or ſuffer any from them. After that, the Ambaſſadors departed: And the *Grecks*, finding they had as many Ships as they wanted, embarked and ſailed with a fair Wind all that Day and the next Night, keeping *Paphlagonia* on their left Hand: and the Day after they arrived at *Sinope*, and anchored in [h] *Harmene*, one of

Strabo, 12 B.

Arrian Periplus *of the* Euxine *Sea.*

Herodot. *in* Melpomene.

Strabo, 12 B.

[h] Αρμένην. Both *Strabo* and *Arrian* make mention of *Armene* or *Harmene* as a Sea-port belonging to *Sinope*, from which the former ſays it was diſtant fifty Stadia, and the latter forty. *Herodotus* ſays that the *Cimmerians* flying from the *Scythians* into *Aſia*, built a Town upon the Peninſula where *Sinope*, a *Greek* City, now ſtands. But we find by *Strabo* that the Inhabitants of *Sinope* looked upon *Autolycus*, one of the *Argonauts*, to be their Founder, whoſe Statue, made by *Sthenis*, *Lucullus* carried away, when he took the Town: The ſame Author tells us, that the *Milęſians*, obſerving the advantageous Situation of the Place, and the Weakneſs of the Inhabitants, ſent a Colony thither. And, by the Account that Author gives of *Sinope*, no City could be more advantageouſly ſituated; for he ſays it ſtood upon the Iſthmus that joined the Peninſula to the main Land, having on each Side a Sea-port, where great Quantities of the Tunny Fiſh were taken as they ſwam along the *Aſiatick* Coaſt, from the *Palus Mæotis*, where they are bred, to the *Boſphorus*. He adds, that the Peninſula was ſurrounded with ſharp Rocks, which made the Acceſs to it very difficult, that the Land above the Town was very fertile, and diſpoſed into

of its Ports. *Sinope* is ſituated in *Paphlagonia*; it is a Colony of the *Mileſians*. The Inhabitants ſent the *Greeks*, as a Mark of Hoſpitality, three thouſand [i] Medimni of Flour, and fifteen hundred [k] Ceramia of Wine. Hither *Cheirifophus* BOOK VI.

into Gardens; and that the City was well built, and adorned with a place of Exerciſe, a Market, and magnificent Porticos. This Account both of the Situation of *Sinope*, and of the Country round it, is confirmed by *Tournefort*, who was there himſelf; and, in the Relation he gives of it, is grievouſly out of Humour with the modern Geographers for taking no Notice either of the Peninſula, or of the Sea-ports lying on each Side of it. *Sinope* is famous for having given Birth to two conſiderable Men of very different Characters, *Diogenes* the *Cynick* Philoſopher, and the great *Mithridates*. *Strabo* ſays it was in his Time, (that is, in the Reign of *Auguſtus*) a *Roman* Colony. I cannot part with this Subject without taking Notice that *Sinope* furniſhed the ancient Painters with a red Earth, which was one of the four Colours, with which alone, *Pliny* tells us, *Apelles*, *Echion*, *Melanthius*, *Nicomachus* painted thoſe immortal Works; *quatuor coloribus ſolis Immortalia illa Opera fecere: ex Albis Melino, ex Silacis Attico, ex Rubris Sinopide Pontica, ex nigris Atramento, Apelles, Echion, Melanthius, Nicomachus.* Pl. N. H. 35 B. c. 32.

[i] Μεδίμνες. Μεδίμνος —— μέτρον ἐστὶ ξηρῶν, οἷον πυρῶν ἢ κριθῶν· ἔχει δὲ χοίνικας ὀκτὼ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα. *Harpocration.* So that the Medimnus was a dry Meaſure containing 48 Chœnixes, each of which, *Arbuthnot* makes equal to an *Engliſh* Pint: but then he ſays a Medimnus contains four Pecks and ſix Pints, which is a Miſtake; for if, as he ſays, 16 Pints make a Peck, it is plain that 48 Pints will make but three Pecks: So that, in reality, a Medimnus is equal to three *Engliſh* Pecks. *Arbuthnot's Tables.*

[k] Κεράμια. Κεράμιον, τὸ τῦ οἴνυ ἢ ὕδατος σαμιόν, *Heſychius*; and in another Place Κάδος, κεράμιον. Now the Cadus, *Arbuthnot* makes equal to the Metretes, which Id. ib.

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ſoplus came with ſome Gallies. The Soldiers expected he would bring them ſomething: However he brought nothing, but gave them an Account that both *Anaxibius* the Admiral, and the reſt of the *Lacedæmonians* celebrated their Praiſe, and that the former promiſed them, if they would come out of the *Euxine* Sea, they ſhould have Pay.

THE Soldiers ſtaid five Days at *Harmene*: And looking upon themſelves to be in the Neighbourhood of *Greece*, they were more deſirous, than before, to carry ſome Booty home with them. [1] They thought, if they made Choice of one General, that ſingle Perſon would find a readier Obedience from the Army both by Night and Day, than if the Command

he ſays, contains ten Gallons two Pints; ſo that Κεράμιον, upon theſe Authorities, will be a liquid Meaſure containing ten Gallons two Pints.

[1] Ηγήσαντο ἓν, ἱ ἵνα ἑλοίντο ἄρχοντα μᾶλλον ἂν ἢ πολυαρχίας ὄσης, δύνασθαι τὸν ἕνα χρῆσθαι τῷ στρατεύματι ἢ νυκτὸς ἢ ἡμέρας· ἢ εἴ τι δέοι λαθέσθαι, μᾶλλον ἂν ἢ χρυσίτεσθαι, ἢ εἴ τι ἂν δέοι φθάσαι, ἧττον ἂν ὑστερίζειν· ἢ γὰρ ἂν λόγων δεῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἀλλὰ τὸ δόξαν τῳ ἐνὶ περαίνεσθαι ἄν. I have tranſcribed this whole Paſſage, that the Reader may ſee how dreadfully *d'Ablancourt* has mangled it; theſe are his Words: *Les Soldats donc, pour mieux conſerver leur Entrepriſe, & l'executer plus promptement, reſolurent d'elire un General.*

mand were vested in many; where it was necessary for him to conceal his Designs, he would conceal them better, and where to prevent the Enemy, he would use greater Expedition, for there would then be no Need of Conferences, but whatever that single Person resolved upon, would be put in Execution: For hitherto in all Operations the Generals were governed by the Majority. While they had these Things under Consideration, they cast their Eyes on *Xenophon*; and the Captains came to him and acquainted him with the Resolution of the Army: And each of them, expressing his Affection to him, endeavoured to prevail upon him to undertake the Command. *Xenophon* was not averse to it, when he considered that he should, by this Means, increase both his Credit with his Friends, and his Reputation in his Country, and that possibly also, he might be the Cause of some Advantage to the Army. BOOK VI.

THESE Considerations led him to desire to be Commander in Chief. On the other Side, when he reflected that

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future Events being concealed from all Mankind, he might, for that Reaſon, run a Hazard of loſing the Glory he had already gained, he was in Suſpence. While he was in this Doubt, he thought the beſt Thing he could do was to conſult the Gods: In the Preſence therefore of two Prieſts, he offered Sacrifice to [m] *Jupiter* the King, to whom he was directed by the Oracle of *Delphos* to addreſs himſelf; and whom he looked upon to be the Author of the Dream he had, when, together with the other Generals, he was firſt appointed to take Charge of the Army. He called to Mind alſo that, when he left *Epheſus* in Order to be preſented to *Cyrus*, [n] an Eagle cried on

Harpocration, Βασιλεῖος.

[m] Διὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ. *Harpocration* mentions two Porticos dedicated at *Athens* to *Jupiter* under two different Appellations; the firſt to *Jupiter* ἐλευθερίῳ, becauſe the People of *Athens*, as *Dydimus* ſays, were freed from the *Perſians* by his Aſſiſtance; the other to *Jupiter* Βασιλεύς. This Paſſage explains what our Author mentions in the third Book, where he ſays the Oracle of *Delphos* directed him to ſacrifice to the proper Gods, by which, we find here, he means *Jupiter* the King.

[n] Αετὸν ἀνεμιμνήσκετο ἑαυτῷ δεξιόν. It was an old Superſtition among the *Greeks* to look upon all Appearances, and particularly that of an Eagle on the right Hand, as an Omen of Succeſs. When *Telemachus* takes his leave of *Menelaus*, *Homer* makes an Eagle appear on his right, with a Gooſe in his Talons,

on his Right, ſitting however on the Ground, which the Prieſt, who accompanied

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Ως ἄρα οἱ εἰπόντι ἐπέπτατο δεξιὸς ὄρνις
Αἰετὸς, ἀργὴν χῆνα φέρων ὀνύχεσσι πέλωρον,
Ημερον ἐξ αὐλῆς·

Homer Odyſ. O.

This Omen *Helen*, who was preſent, takes upon herſelf to interpret, and ſays it ſignifies that *Ulyſſes* ſhall return and puniſh the Suitors, who, it ſeems, were repreſented by the white Gooſe: By the way, *Homer* makes *Helen* rather than *Menelaus* interpret this Omen, poſſibly to avoid making the good Man indirectly reproach his Wife by this Interpretation; for *Menelaus* ſeems to have forgotten or forgiven all that was paſt, and they then lived very well together. It may be aſked why the *Greeks* looked upon the Omens that appeared on their *right* to be proſperous, and the *Romans* on thoſe that appeared on their *left* to be ſo? This Queſtion, though, at firſt Sight, it may appear frivolous, is of ſo great Conſequence to the underſtanding many Paſſages both in the *Greek* and *Roman* Authors, that I really think it very well deſerves to be diſcuſſed. The firſt Thing to be conſidered is, that the *Greeks* and *Romans* did not turn their Faces towards the ſame Quarter of the Heavens when they took their Stand in their augural Ceremonies, the former turning theirs to the North, and the latter theirs to the Eaſt. But this deſerves ſomething more than a bare Aſſertion. *Homer*, who is always a religious Obſerver of the Ceremonies of his Country, makes *Hector* reprimand *Polydamas* for adviſing him to attend to the Flight of Birds, and ſays, he cares not whether they fly to the right, that is, to the Eaſt, or to the left, that is, to the Weſt,

Homer Il. M.

— Τῶν ὅτι μετατρέπομ', ὐδ' ἀλιγίζω.
Εἰτ' ἐπὶ δεξι' ἴωσι πρὸς ἠῶ τ' ἠέλιον τε,
Εἰτ' ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ τοίγε, πρὸς ζόφον ἠερόεντα.

It may not, poſſibly, be ſo eaſily allowed that the *Romans*, upon theſe Occaſions, turned their Faces towards the Eaſt; I ſay this, becauſe I remember to have ſeen the contrary aſſerted by a very learned Man, I mean *Dacier*, in his Notes upon *Horace*; he there ſays, *ceux qui prenoient les Auſpices, tournoient toujours le viſage vers le midi*; and a little after he adds, *cela a toujours été obſervé de même par*

Dacier's Notes upon the twenty-ſeventh Ode, 3 B.

les

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panied him, ſaid was an Omen, that portended ſomething great, and above a pri-

les Romains, ſans qu'il y ait jamais eu aucun Changement; & c'eſt une verité ſi conſtante, que l'on ne ſçauroit expliquer ni concilier autrement tous les paſſages des Anciens, où il eſt parlé de ces matieres. Errors in Authors of little Merit are of little Conſequence, but, when uſhered into the World under the Sanction of a Name deſervedly famous for critical Learning, they are either taken for Truths, or, at beſt, paſs uncontradicted. That this is an Error will appear, to a Demonſtration, from the two following Paſſages of thoſe two Oracles of the *Roman* Hiſtory, *Livy*, and *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus*: The firſt, ſpeaking of the

Livy, 1 *B.* c. 18. Inauguration of *Numa Pompilius*, ſays *Augur ad lævam ejus, capite velato ſedem cepit, dextrâ manu baculum ſine nodo aduncum tenens, quem lituum appellaverunt. Inde, ubi, proſpectu in urbem agramque capto, Deos precatus, regionem ob oriento ad occaſum determinavit; dextras ad meridiem partes, lævas ad ſeptentrionem eſſe dixit.* In this Diviſion then we find the South was on his right Hand, and the North on his left, conſequently his Face was turned to the Eaſt.

Dionyſ. Hal. 2 *B.* of *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* not only confirms this, but gives ſeveral Reaſons why the Augurs, upon theſe Occaſions, turned their Faces to the Eaſt. The firſt is this, ὅτι καθέδρα μέν ἐστι κ᾽ πάσις ἀρίστη τῶν διανοίᾳ μαντευομένων ἡ βλεπουσα πρὸς ἀνατολάς, ὅθεν ἥλιός τε ἀναφοραὶ γίνονται κ᾽ σελήνης, κ᾽ ἀστέρων πλανητῶν τε κ᾽ ἀπλανῶν· ἥτε τῆ κόσμου περιφορᾷ, ἀπ᾽ ἧς τοτὲ μὲν ὑπὲρ γῆς ἅπαντα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ γίνεται, τοτὲ δ᾽ ὑπὸ γῆς, ἐκεῖθεν ἀρξαμένη τὴν ἐγκύκλιον ἀποδίδωσι κίνησιν. This Reaſon, according to the Syſtem of Aſtronomy then in Vogue, was a very plauſible one, that is, becauſe the heavenly Bodies began their Motion from the Eaſt. To this I ſhall add the Reaſon given by the ſame Author, why the *Romans* looked upon the Lightning that appeared on the left Hand, as a happy Omen; I mention this not only to confirm what has been ſaid,

Virgil, 9 *B.* but alſo to ſhew that a Paſſage in *Virgil*, which, like many others, is looked upon as poetical, is, like them, merely hiſtorical. *Dionyſius* ſays that *Aſcanius*, the Son of *Æneas*, being beſieged by the *Tuſcans*, under *Mezentius*, and upon the Point of making a Sally, prayed to *Jupiter*, and to the reſt of the Gods, to ſend him a happy Omen;

private Station, ſomething illuſtrious, though toilſome; for other Birds attack the Eagle chiefly when ſhe is ſitting upon the Ground. He added that the Omen foretold nothing lucrative, becauſe, when the Eagle preys, ſhe is generally upon the Wing. While therefore he was offering Sacrifice upon this Occaſion, the God plainly ſignified to him, that

upon which, they ſay, the Sky being clear, it lightened on his left. Now let us ſee what Uſe *Virgil* has made of this Tradition; *Aſcanius* is beſieged by the *Rutulans* and *Tuſcans* commanded by *Turnus* and *Mezentius*; he is inſulted by *Remulus*, but, before he takes Revenge of him, he prays to *Jupiter* to favour his *Coup d'eſſai*: Upon this a Clap of Thunder was heard on the left, where the Sky was clear,

Audiit, & Cæli genitor de parte ſerenâ
Intonuit lævum.

This is told almoſt in the ſame Words by the *Greek* Hiſtorian, φασὶν αἰθρίας ὄσης ἐκ τῶν ἀριστερῶν ἀστράψαι τὸν βροντον.

However, I deſire I may not be underſtood as if I meant by this that *Virgil* took this Paſſage from *Dionyſius*; I am very ſenſible that the *Greek* Hiſtorian ſpeaks of the ſeven hundreth and forty-fifth Year, as of the Year then preſent, in the Preface to his Hiſtory, *Claudius Nero* for the ſecond Time, and *Calpurnius Piſo* being Conſuls; and that *Donatus* tells us, in his Life of *Virgil*, that, deſigning to return to *Rome* with *Auguſtus*, whom he met at *Athens*, as the latter was coming out of the Eaſt, he died at *Brundiſium*, *Cn. Plautius* and *Sex. Lucretius* being Conſuls. Now *Dion. Caſſius* ſays, that *Auguſtus* went into the Eaſt in the Spring of the Year, in which *M. Agrippa* and *P. Silius* were Conſuls, which, in the *Faſti Conſulares*, is the 733[d] of *Rome*, and that he returned to *Rome* the next Year: All that I mean by what I have ſaid is, that both the Poet and the Hiſtorian took the Paſſage from the Hiſtory of *Rome*. 54 *B.*

BOOK VI.

that he ought neither to ſeek the Command, nor, if they choſe him, to accept it: and this was the Iſſue of that Affair. However the Army aſſembled, and they all agreed to chuſe a ſingle Perſon to command them: This therefore being determined, they propoſed him: When it was manifeſt they would chuſe him, if any one put the Queſtion, he roſe up, and ſpoke as follows.

GENTLEMEN! as I am a Man, I take a Pleaſure in the Honour you deſign me, and return you Thanks for it; I alſo beſeech the Gods to give me an Opportunity of being the Occaſion of ſome Advantage to you: But I cannot think it will be any either to you or my ſelf to give me the Preference, when a Lacedæmonian *is preſent: On the contrary, if you ſhould want their Aſſiſtance in any Thing, you will, by this Means, be the leſs intitled to it. Neither do I look upon this as a Thing altogether ſafe for me to engage in: For I am ſenſible they never ceaſed making War upon my Country, 'till they made the whole City acknowledge, that the* Lacedæmonians *were the Maſters of* Athens, *as well as of the reſt of* Greece: *However, upon*

on this Acknowledgement, they desisted, and immediately raised the Siege of that City. If therefore I, who am sensible of this, should seem, where I have it in my Power, to invalidate their Authority, I have Reason to fear that I should very soon be taught my Duty. As to your Opinion, that the Command of a single Person will leave less Room for Contest, than that of many, be assured that, if you chuse another, you shall find I will not oppose him; for I look upon it, that, in War, whoever opposes his Commander, opposes his own Safety: ° Whereas, if you chuse me, I shall not be surprised, if you find others, who will be offended both at you and me.

BOOK VI.

AFTER he had said this, much greater Numbers than before rose up, and said, he ought to take upon him the Command. And *Agasias* the *Stymphalian* acknowledged it would be ridiculous to suppose what was mentioned to be true; because, at that rate, the *Lacedæmonians* might as well be angry, if, when they met to sup to-

° Ἂν δ' ἐμὲ ἕλησθε, οὐκ ἂν θαυμάσαιμι εἴ τινα ἔσεσθε καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἐμοὶ ἀχθόμενον. *D'Ablancourt* has left out all this Sentence.

BOOK VI. together, they did not chuſe a *Lacedæmonian* for their Preſident: For, ſays he, if that is the Caſe, neither ought we, it ſeems, to be Captains, becauſe we are *Arcadians*. Upon this the Aſſembly ſhewed by their Murmur that they approved of what he ſaid.

XENOPHON ſeeing it was neceſſary to enforce what he had alledged, advanced, and went on. *But, Gentlemen! that you may know all the Circumſtances of this Affair, I ſwear by all the Gods and Goddeſſes, that, after I was acquainted with your Reſolution, I ſought, by Sacrifice, to know whether it were for your Advantage to confer this Command upon me, and for mine to accept it: And the Gods ſignified to me, by the Victims, in ſo clear a Manner that the moſt ignorant Man could not miſtake it, that I ought to decline the Command.* Upon this they choſe *Cheiriſophus*, who, after he was choſen, came forward, and ſaid, *Be aſſured, Gentlemen! I ſhould have given you no Oppoſition, if your Choice had fallen upon another.* *But* ſays he, *you have done a Service to* Xenophon *by not chuſing him, ſince* Dexippus *has lately accuſed him to* Anaxibius,

bius, *in the ſtrongeſt Manner he was able,* BOOK *though I endeavoured all I could to ſilence* VI. *him.* Cheiriſophus *added that he thought* Anaxibius *would rather deſire* Timaſion *of* Dardanus, *who had ſerved under* Clearchus, *for his Colleague, than himſelf, though he was a* Lacedæmonian. *But,* ſays he, *ſince you have made Choice of me I ſhall endeavour, on my Part, to do you all the Service in my Power. In the mean Time, be ready to ſail to-morrow, if the Weather is favourable.* Heraclea *is the Port we muſt all endeavour to arrive at. When we are there, we will conſider of what we have farther to do.*

THE next Day they weighed Anchor with a fair Wind, and ſailed two Days along the Coaſt: And, in their Paſſage, ſaw the * *Jaſonian* Shore, where the Ship *Argo* is ſaid to have come to Land; and the Mouths of ſeveral Rivers; firſt that of the [p] *Thermodon*; then of the *Halys*,

* Ἰασωνίαν ἀκτήν. As the laſt note but one is very long, and the Diſſertation upon the *Argonautic* Expedition has neceſſarily occaſioned this to be ſo, in Order to avoid breaking in upon the Text, I have been obliged to place it at the End of this Book.

[p] Τῷ Θερμωδόντῳ. This River, after it has received many others, runs through a Plain called *Themiſcyra*, for-

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[q] *Halys*, and, afterwards, that of the [r] *Parthenius*: And, having ſailed by the laſt, they arrived at [s] *Heraclea*, a *Greek* City, and a Colony of the *Megarians*, ſituated in the Coun-

merly inhabited by the *Amazons*, and then falls into the *Euxine* Sea.

Strabo, 11 *B.*

[q] Τῦ Αλυος. This River, *Strabo* ſays, took its Name from the Beds of Salt through which it runs, ἀπὸ τῶν ἁλῶν ἃς καταῤῥεῖ, he adds that its Source is in the *Greater Cappadocia*; and, upon this Occaſion, *Arrian* blames *Herodotus* for ſaying it flows from the South, whereas it comes, as he ſays, from the Eaſt: This River formerly parted the *Perſian* and *Lydian* Empires. *Tournefort* ſays this Country is ſo full of Foſſil-Salt, that it is to be found in the High Roads, and plowed Lands.

Ib. Arrian Periplus *of the* Euxine *Sea.* Tournefort, 17 *Letter.*

[r] Τῦ Παρθενίε. The *Parthenius* riſes, according to *Strabo*, in *Paphlagonia*, and derives its Name from the chearful Meadows, through which it runs.

Strabo, 12 *B.*

[s] Εις Ηρακλειαν. *Heraclea* was anciently a City of great Conſideration, and in Alliance with *Rome*, 'till *Mithridates* made himſelf Maſter of it by corrupting *Lamachus*, one of their Magiſtrates, which furniſhed *Cotta*, who ſerved under *Lucullus*, with a Pretence both of plundering it, and reducing it to Aſhes, for which he was deſervedly cenſured at his Return to *Rome*. I find *Strabo* makes *Heraclea* to have been a Colony of the *Mileſians*, but *Xenophon* ſeems to deſerve moſt Credit, ſince he is ſupported by *Diodorus Siculus*, *Pauſanias*, and many other Authors of the beſt Note. *Heraclea* was afterwards called by the modern *Greeks*, to whom it belonged, *Penderachi*, and by the *Turks*, in whoſe Poſſeſſion it now is, *Eregri*. There are many Medals to be ſeen at this Day, formerly ſtruck by this City in Honour of the *Roman* Emperors, with a *Hercules* on the Reverſe, by which it appears that he was the Patron of it; and, when *Cotta* took it, there was a Statue of *Hercules* in the Market-Place, with all his Attributes of Gold. But it muſt be obſerved that this was the *Grecian*, not the *Egyptian Hercules*, from whom *Diodorus Siculus* obſerves the *Greeks* borrowed moſt of the great Actions, which they aſcribed to their *Hercules*.

Strabo, 12 *B.* Diod. Sic. 14 *B.* Pauſanias, 1. Heliac. Tournefort, 16 *Letter.* Diod. Sic. 1 *B.*

Country of the *Maryandenians*. They came to an Anchor near to the Peninsula of *Acherusias*, where *Hercules* is said to have descended to bring up *Cerberus*, and where they shew, at this Day, a Chasm, two Stadia in Depth, as a Monument of his Descent. The Inhabitants of *Heraclea* sent the *Greeks* three thousand Medimni of Barley-Meal, and two thousand Ceramia of Wine, as hospitable Presents, with twenty Oxen, and one hundred Sheep. Here the River *Lycus*, about two hundred Feet broad, runs through the Plain. BOOK VI.

THE Soldiers being assembled, deliberated whether they should proceed the rest of the Way 'till they were out of the *Euxine*, by Land or by Sea; when *Lycon* of *Achaia* rising up, said, *I* [1] *wonder, Gentlemen! at our Generals, for not endeavouring to find Money for us to buy Provisions: For the Presents we have received will not subsist the Army three Days; neither is there any Place*, says he, *from whence we can supply ourselves. My Advice therefore is, that we demand of the Inhabitants of* Heraclea

[1] Θαυμάζω μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες, τῶν στρατηγῶν. Θαυμάζω, ὅτι πρὸς νενικὴν συνταάσσομεν, τὸ καταγινώσκω σημαίνει· πρὸς δὲ αἰτιατικὴν, τὸ ἐπαινῶ. *Suidas.*

BOOK VI.

raclea *no leſs than three thouſand* [u] Cyzicenes. Another ſaid a Month's Pay, no leſs than ten thouſand: And that we ought to chuſe Ambaſſadors, and ſend them immediately to the Town while we were aſſembled, to the End we might know what anſwer they thought proper to return, and thereupon conſider what Meaſures to take. Upon this they propoſed ſending, as Ambaſſadors, firſt *Cheiriſophus*, becauſe they had choſen him for their General; and ſome named *Xenophon*. But both theſe declined it abſolutely; for they concurred in Opinion, that they ought not to conſtrain a *Greek* City, in Friendſhip with them, to ſupply them with any Thing againſt their Will. When they found theſe were unwilling to go, they ſent *Lycon* of *Achaia*, *Callimachus* of *Parrhaſie*, and *Agaſias* of *Stymphalus*. Theſe, going to the Town, informed the Inhabitants of the Reſolutions of the Army: It was ſaid *Lycon* even added Threats, if they did not comply with all their Demands. The Inhabitants, hearing this, ſaid they would conſider of it, and immediately removed all

[u] Κυζικηνούς. See note [1], page 53, upon the fifth Book.

all their [x] Effects out of the Country, and carried all their Proviſions into the Town: At the ſame Time the Gates were ſhut, and Men in Arms appeared upon the Walls. BOOK VI.

HEREUPON the Authors of theſe Diſturbances, accuſed the Generals of having defeated the Deſign: And the *Arcadians* and *Achaians* aſſembled together: (they were chiefly headed by *Callimachus* the *Parrhaſian*, and *Lycon* the *Achaian*) They ſaid it was a Shame that one *Athenian*, who had brought no Forces to the Army, ſhould have the Command both of the *Peloponneſians* and *Lacedæmonians*: They ſaid they had the Labour, and others the Profit; which was the leſs to be ſuffered, becauſe the Preſervation of the Army was owing to them; for they ſaid the *Arcadians* and *Achaians* had preſerved it, and that the reſt of the Army was nothing: (and it was true the *Arcadians* and *Achaians* made above half the Army) If therefore they were wiſe, they ought to aſſemble, and, having choſen their own Generals, to march by themſelves,

[x] Χρήματα. See note [f], page 35, upon the firſt Book.

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ſelves, and endeavour to get ſome Booty. This was reſolved: And thoſe *Arcadians* and *Achaians*, who ſerved under *Cheiriſophus*, leaving him, and *Xenophon*, joined the reſt, and choſe their own Generals, to the Number of ten. Theſe they voted to execute whatever ſhould be approved of by the Majority. Here therefore ended the Generalſhip of *Cheiriſophus*, the ſixth or ſeventh Day after he was choſen.

XENOPHON was inclined to march in their Company looking upon that as ſafer than for every one to travel by himſelf: But *Neon*, who had been informed by *Cheiriſophus* that *Cleander*, the *Lacedæmonian* [y] Governor of *Byzantium*, ſaid he would come to the Port of *Calpe* with ſome Gallies, perſuaded him to go by himſelf. He gave him this Advice to the End that none ſhould partake of this Opportunity, but only they, with their own Soldiers, ſhould go on Board the Gallies: And *Cheiriſophus*, partly diſcouraged at what had happened, and partly through the Hatred he, from that Time,

[y] Ἁρμοστής. Ἁρμοσταὶ, οἱ ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων εἰς τὰς ὑποχείους πόλεις ἄρχοντες ἐκπεμπόμενοι. *Harpocration.*

Time, conceived againſt the Army, permitted *Xenophon* to do as he thought fit. The latter had ſome Thoughts alſo of leaving that Part of the Army that remained with him, and of ſailing away: But while he was offering Sacrifice to *Hercules* the Conductor, and conſulting that God, whether it were better for him to march on with the Reſt of the Soldiers, or to leave them, the God ſignified, by the Victims, that he ſhould go on with them. By this Means the Army was divided into three Bodies: The firſt conſiſted of *Arcadians* and *Achaians*, being above four thouſand five hundred in Number, all heavy-armed Men: The ſecond of fourteen hundred heavy-armed Men, and ſeven hundred Targeteers belonging to *Cheiriſophus*, the laſt being *Thracians*, who had ſerved under *Clearchus*: And the third of ſeventeen hundred heavy-armed Men, and three hundred Targeteers, who followed *Xenophon*; the Horſe, which amounted to about forty, were ſolely commanded by him. BOOK VI.

THE *Arcadians*, having furniſhed themſelves with Ships from the Inhabitants of

BOOK VI.

Heraclea, firſt ſet ſail, that, by falling upon the *Bythinians* unawares, they might get the greater Booty. With this View they landed in the Port of *Calpe*, ſituated about the middle of [z] *Thrace*. *Cheiriſophus*, leaving *Heraclea*, travelled through the Country; but, when he arrived in *Thrace*, he kept near the Sea: Becauſe he was in an ill State of Health; and *Xenophon*, having provided himſelf with Ships, landed upon the Confines of *Thrace* and of the Territory of *Heraclea*, and, from thence, marched through the Middle of the Country.

IN what Manner therefore the Generalſhip of *Cheiriſophus* was abrogated, and the *Greek* Army divided, has been already related. The Actions of each of them were, as follows. The *Arcadians*, landing by Night at the Port of *Calpe*, marched to the next Villages, at the Diſtance of about fifty Stadia from the Sea: When it was light, each of their Generals led his own Diviſion to a Village, and, where any

Herodot. in Polyhymnia.

[z] Τῆς Θρᾴκης. Theſe are the *Thracians*, who, as *Herodotus* ſays, having ſettled in *Aſia*, were called *Bithynians*; he adds, that they were driven out of *Thrace* by the *Teucrians*, and *Myſians*.

any of the Villages ſeemed larger than the reſt, they marched in a Body formed of two Diviſions: At the ſame Time they fixed upon a Hill where they were all to re-aſſemble; and, as their Irruption was unexpected, they [a] took many Slaves beſides great Numbers of Cattle. BOOK VI.

THE *Thracians*, who eſcaped, got together; for, being Targeteers, many of them made their Eſcape from the *Greeks*, who were heavy-armed Men. Being now aſſembled in a Body, they firſt attacked the Diviſion commanded by *Smicres*, one of the *Arcadian* Generals, while he was upon his March to the Place of Rendezvous with a conſiderable Booty. For ſome Time the *Greeks* fought as they marched; but, while they were paſſing a Valley, the *Thracians* put them to Flight, and killed *Smicres* with all his Men. They alſo defeated another Diviſion commanded by *Hegeſander* one of the ten Generals, eight only eſcaping, and, with them,

[a] Περιεβάλοντο. Περιβαλλόμενοι· προσπορισάμενοι. *Suidas*. *Phavorinus*. So that I cannot think the Word *collego* made Uſe of by both the *Latin* Tranſlators ſo proper upon this Occaſion.

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them, *Hegesander* himself. The rest of the Generals came to the Place of Rendezvous, some with Difficulty, and others without any at all. The *Thracians*, after this Advantage, gave Notice to one another, and assembled, with great Resolution, in the Night: And as soon as it was Day, great Numbers of Horse and Targeteers were drawn up round the Hill, upon which the *Greeks* were encamped; and their Numbers continually encreasing they attacked the heavy-armed Men with great Security: For the *Greeks* had neither Archers, Darters, or Horse; while the others, advancing with their light-armed Men, and Horse, lanced their Darts, and, when the *Greeks* offered to attack them, retreated with Ease; and assailing them in different Places, gave several Wounds, without receiving any: So that the *Greeks* could not stir from the Place, and were at last debarred from Water by the *Thracians*. Being reduced to great Extremity, Terms of Accommodation were proposed, and other Things were agreed upon; but the *Thracians* refused to give Hostages, which the *Greeks* insisted on. This put a Stop to the

the Treaty; and this was the Situation of the *Arcadians*. BOOK VI.

IN the mean Time *Cheirisophus*, marching with Safety along the Coast, arrived at the Port of *Calpe*. While *Xenophon* was upon his March through the Middle of the Country, his Horse, who were upon the Scout, met with some Ambassadors, who were travelling the Road. When they were brought to *Xenophon*, he asked them, whether they had any where heard of another *Greek* Army. These Men informed him of every Thing that had passed; that the *Greeks* were actually besieged upon a Hill, and that the whole Army of the *Thracians* had surrounded them on all Sides. Upon this he ordered the Men to be strictly guarded, that he might use them as Guides, where it was necessary; and having placed his Scouts, he assembled the Soldiers, and, spoke to them as follows:

GENTLEMEN! Part of the Arcadians *are slain, and the rest besieged upon a Hill. It is my Opinion, that, if these are destroyed, all Hopes of our own Safety are desper-*

BOOK VI. *desperate, the Enemy being so numerous, and so much emboldened by their Success. The best Thing therefore we can do, is immediately to march to their Relief; that if they are still alive, we may have their Assistance in Battle, rather than, by being left alone, be alone exposed to the Danger of it. Let us therefore, for the present, march on 'till Supper-Time, and then encamp; and, while we are upon our March, let* Timasion, *with the Horse, advance before, keeping us still in Sight, and reconnoitre the Country, to prevent Surprise.* At the same Time, he sent those of the light-armed Men, who were most prepared for Expedition, to the Sides and Tops of the Hills, with Orders, if they saw any Thing, to give Notice. He ordered them also to set Fire to every combustible Thing they met with. *For*, says he, *we have no Place to fly to: It is a great Way back to* Heraclea; *a great Way through the Country to* Chrysopolis, *and the Enemy is near at Hand. Indeed, it is not far to the Port of* Calpe, *where we conclude* Cheirisophus *is arrived, if he has met with no Accident: But, when we are there, we shall find neither Ships to transport us, nor Provisions to subsist*

us even for one Day. However, if thoſe who are beſieged ſhould periſh, it will be more diſadvantageous for us to hazard a Battle in Conjunction with the Troops belonging to Cheiriſophus *only, than, if they are preſerved, to join all our Forces, and make our Preſervation a common Concern. But let us go with this Reſolution, either to die with Honour, upon this Occaſion, or perform the greateſt of all Actions in preſerving ſo many* Greeks. *Poſſibly God has ordained this with a Deſign of humbling thoſe who magnified their Prudence, as ſuperior to ours, and of rendering us, who derive all our Hopes from the Gods, more renowned than they. Follow then your Leaders, and be attentive to the Orders you receive, that you may obey them.*

WHEN he had ſaid this, he put himſelf at their Head. The Horſe, ſpreading themſelves over the Country, as far as was proper, ſet Fire to every Thing where they paſſed, and the Targeteers, marching abreaſt upon the Eminences, ſet Fire alſo to every Thing they found combuſtible, as did the Army alſo to what the others happened to leave: So that the whole Country ſeemed in a Blaze,

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Blaze, and the Army appeared very numerous. When it was Time, they encamped on a Hill, and discovered the Enemy's Fires, from whom they were distant about forty Stadia: Upon this they made as many Fires as they could. But when they had supped, Orders were given that all the Fires should immediately be put out: And, having placed Guards, they went to sleep. The next Morning, by Break of Day, after they had invoked the Gods, they put themselves in Order of Battle, and marched with all the Haste they could. *Timasion* and the Horse, with the Guides, advancing before the Army, found themselves, before they were aware, upon the Hill, where the *Grecks* had been besieged. Here they saw neither Friends, nor Enemies, (of which they gave Notice to *Xenophon* and the Army) but only some old Men, and Women, with a few Sheep, and Oxen, that were left behind. At first, they wondered what the Matter was, but, afterwards, they understood by the People, who were left, that the *Thracians* went away, as soon as the Evening came on; and the *Greeks* the

next Morning: But whither, they ſaid, they could not tell. BOOK VI.

XENOPHON, and his Men, hearing this, after they had eat their Breakfaſt, got their Baggage ready, and marched on, deſiring as ſoon as poſſible, to join the reſt of the *Greeks* at the Port of *Calpe*. In their March, they ſaw the Footing of the *Arcadians* and *Achaians* in the Road leading to *Calpe*; and, when they overtook them, they were pleaſed to ſee one another, and embraced like Brothers. The *Arcadians* aſked *Xenophon*'s Men why they had put out their Fires? for, ſaid they, we thought at firſt, when we ſaw no more Fires, that you deſigned to attack the Enemy in the Night: (and they, as we imagined, were apprehenſive of this, and, for that Reaſon, went away, for they retired about that Time) But you not coming, and the Time wherein we expected you, being expired, we concluded, that, being informed of our Situation, you were terrified, and had retired to the Sea-ſide. Whereupon we reſolved not to be far behind you: And this was the Reaſon of our marching hither alſo.

BOOK VI.

THAT Day they encamped upon the Shore near the Port. This Place, which is called the Port of *Calpe*, is ſituated in the *Aſiatic Thrace*. This *Thrace* begins at the Mouth of the *Euxine* Sea, and extends, on the right Hand, as far as *Heraclea*. To which Place from *Byzantium*[b], it is as far as a Trireme Galley can row in the longeſt Day. Between theſe two Cities there is no Town belonging either to the *Greeks*, or their Allies: But all the Coaſt is inhabited by *Thracians* or *Bithynians*: And whatever *Greeks* are thrown upon their Coaſt by Shipwrack, or, by any other Accident, fall into their Hands, they are ſaid to abuſe them in the moſt ſavage Manner. The Port of *Calpe* lies in the Mid-way between *Heraclea*, and *Byzantium*. A Promontory runs out into the Sea, of which that Part, which lies contiguous to it, is a craggy Rock, in Height, where it is loweſt, not leſs than twenty Fathom. The Neck of Land, by which this Promontory is joined

[b] Ἡμέρας μάλα μακρᾶς πλοῦς. *Xenophon* has great Reaſon to ſay that it is a long Day's Work for a Galley to go from *Byzantium* to *Heraclea*, ſince *Arrian*, in his *Periplus*, makes it 1670 Stadia, 870 of which he reckons from *Byzantium* to the Port of *Calpe*, which agrees very well with *Xenophon*'s Account.

ed to the Continent, is about four hun- BOOK
dred Feet in Breadth; and the Space, VI.
within this Neck, is ample enough to
afford Habitation for ten thouſand Men.
The Port lies under the Rock upon the
weſtern Shore; and, cloſe to the Sea,
flows a Spring plentifully ſupplied with
freſh Water: This Spring is commanded
by the Rock. This Place affords great
Plenty of Timber, particularly that,
which is proper for building Ships, in
great Quantities, and in great Perfection
cloſe to the Sea. The Mountain that lies
next the Port, reaches about twenty
Stadia into the Mid-land: The Soil is a
Mould, free from Stones; but that Part
of it, which lies next the Sea, and extends
above twenty Stadia, is covered with great
Numbers of ſtately Trees of every Kind.
The reſt of the Country is pleaſant and
ſpacious, abounding with Villages well
inhabited; for it produces Barley, Wheat,
and all ſorts of Legumens, Panic, Seſame,
a ſufficient Quantity of Figs, Vines in
Abundance, yielding a ſweet Wine, and
every Thing elſe but Olive-Trees. This
is the Nature of the Country.

BOOK VI.

THE Soldiers encamped along the Shore: Had they entered into any of the Villages, they would not have quartered there; becauſe they ſuſpected they were drawn thither by the Artifice of ſome People, who were deſirous to build a City there. For the greateſt Part of them had not engaged in this Service through Want, but induced by the Reputation of *Cyrus*, ſome even bringing Soldiers with them, who had ſpent their Fortunes, ſome having left their Fathers and Mothers, and others their Children with a Deſign to return, when they had acquired enough to inrich them; for they heard that the other *Greeks*, who before ſerved under *Cyrus*, had made their Fortunes. This being their Situation, they were deſirous to return, in Safety, to *Greece*.

THE Morning after the Junction of their Forces, *Xenophon* offered Sacrifice concerning their going out of the Camp; (for there was a Neceſſity to lead them out in Order to get Proviſions) he alſo propoſed to bury the Dead. The Victims being favourable, the *Arcadians* alſo followed him, and they buried the greateſt

Part of the Dead, where each of them lay, (for their Bodies having lain five Days, there was no poſſibility of bringing them away) ſome of them they removed out of the Roads, and, laying them in a Heap, buried them with all the Decency that their preſent Circumſtances would admit of. As for thoſe whoſe Bodies could not be found, they erected a large [c] Cenotaph, with a great funeral Pile, which they crowned with Garlands. Having performed theſe Things, they returned to their Camp: And after they had ſupped, went to Reſt. The next Day there was a general Meeting of the Soldiers, (they were chiefly aſſembled by *Agaſias* of *Stymphalus*, one of the Captains, and *Hieronymus* of *Elis*, a Captain alſo, and by the oldeſt *Arcadian* Officers) in which they came to this Reſolution, that,

[c] Κενοτάφιον. In the ſame Manner we find in *Thucydides*, that the *Athenians*, in the Funeral of the firſt of their Countrymen, who were killed in the *Peloponneſian* War, beſides a Coffin for every Tribe, carried alſo an empty one in Honour to the Memory of thoſe, whoſe Bodies could not be found. *Virgil* has tranſlated the *Greek* Word by *tumulus inanis* in the third Book, where he ſays *Andromache* had raiſed an *empty Monument* to the Manes of *Hector*,

Thucydides, *B.* 2.

Maneſque vocabat
Hectoreum ad tumulum: *viridi quem cæſpite* inanem,
Et geminas, cauſam lacrymis, ſacraverat aras.

BOOK VI.

that, for the future, whoever propoſed dividing the Army, ſhould be puniſhed with Death; that the Army ſhould march in the ſame Diſpoſition it was in before, and that the ſame Generals ſhould command. *Cheiriſophus* having loſt his Life by a Medicine he took in a Fever, *Neon* the *Aſinæan* ſucceeded him.

AFTER this *Xenophon*, riſing up, ſaid, *Gentlemen! it ſeems we are under a Neceſſity both of travelling by Land, for we have no Ships, and of marching away immediately; for, if we ſtay, we ſhall want Proviſions. We therefore ſhall offer Sacrifice; in the mean Time, if, upon any other Occaſion, you were prepared to fight, prepare your ſelves for it now, for the Enemy have reſumed their Courage.* After this, the Generals offered Sacrifice in the Preſence of *Arexion* of *Arcadia*, the Prieſt: For *Silanus* of *Ambracia* had hired a Ship, and made his Eſcape from *Heraclea*. But the Victims they ſacrificed concerning their Departure, were not favourable: So they ſtaid there that Day; and ſome had the Confidence to report, that *Xenophon*, being deſirous to build a City there, had prevailed upon

upon the Prieſt to declare that the Victims were not favourable to their Departure. Upon this, *Xenophon* ordered a Herald to publiſh that any one, who was willing, might be preſent at the Sacrifice the next Day, and that, if there was any Prieſt among them, he ſhould alſo attend, and aſſiſt in inſpecting the Victims: He offered Sacrifice accordingly in the Preſence of great Numbers: And, though Victims were three Times ſacrificed concerning their Departure, ſtill they were not favourable. This gave the Soldiers great Concern: For the Proviſions they had brought with them were all conſumed, and there was no Market near. BOOK VI.

HEREUPON they re-aſſembled, and *Xenophon* ſaid, *Gentlemen! The Victims, you ſee, are not yet favourable to our Departure: At the ſame Time, I ſee you are in Want of Proviſions; it is neceſſary, therefore, in my Opinion, to offer Sacrifice concerning this.* Upon which one of the Men, riſing up, ſaid, *It is with Reaſon the Victims do not favour our Departure, for a Ship coming in yeſterday by Accident, I was informed that* Cleander, *the* Lacedæmonian *Governor of* Byzan-

BOOK VI.

Byzantium, *designed to come hither from thence with Transports and Gallies.* Upon this they all concluded to stay for him. However, they could not avoid going out to get Provisions, concerning which he again offered Sacrifice three Times, and still the Victims were not favourable: The Soldiers now came to *Xenophon*'s Tent complaining they had no Provisions: But he told them he would not lead them out, while the Victims forbad it.

THE next Day he sacrificed again, and, it being a General Concern, almost all the Army crouded round the Sacrifice: But the Victims fell short. Still the Generals did not think fit to lead out the Army, however they called them together: and *Xenophon* said, *Possibly the Enemy may be assembled in a Body, and then we shall be under a Necessity of Fighting: If therefore we leave our Baggage in the Place of Strength, and march out prepared to fight, it is possible the Victims may be more favourable.* The Soldiers, hearing this, cried out it was to no Purpose to lead them to the Place he mentioned, but that they ought immediately to offer Sacrifice.

crifice. They had no Victims left: So they bought ſome Oxen out of a Cart, and ſacrificed them; and *Xenophon* begged of *Cleanor*, the *Arcadian*, to ſhew an Earneſtneſs, if this Sacrifice promiſed any Thing. Notwithſtanding this the Victims were not favourable. BOOK VI.

HERE *Neon*, who had ſucceeded *Cheiriſophus*, ſeeing the Men oppreſſed with Want, was deſirous to gratify them, and, having found out a Man belonging to *Heraclea*, who ſaid he was acquainted with ſome Villages in the Neighbourhood, where they might get Proviſions, ordered Proclamation to be made that whoever was willing might go out to ſupply themſelves, there being a Guide ready to conduct them. Upon this two thouſand Men went out of the Camp with Javelins, leather Bags, Sacks, and other Veſſels. While they were in the Villages diſperſed in Plunder, ſome Horſe, belonging to *Pharnabazus*, firſt fell upon them: Theſe were come to the Aſſiſtance of the *Bithynians*, deſigning, jointly with them, to hinder, if poſſible, the *Greeks* from penetrating into *Phrygia*. This

BOOK VI. Body of Horſe killed no leſs than five hundred of the *Greeks*: The Reſt fled to a Mountain.

THE News of this Defeat was brought to the Camp by one of thoſe who eſcaped. *Xenophon*, ſince the Victims were not favourable that Day, taking an Ox out of one of the Carts (for there were no other Victims) ſacrificed it, and then went out to their Relief with all the Men who were not above fifty Years of Age: And, having brought off the reſt, they returned to the Camp. It was now near Sun-ſet, and the *Greeks* eat their Supper in great Conſternation: When, on a ſudden, ſome *Bithynians*, coming up through the Thickets, ſurprized the advanced Guard, and, killing ſome of them, purſued the reſt to the Camp: And, the Alarm being given, all the *Greeks* ran to their Arms. But it was not thought adviſeable to purſue the Enemy, or leave their Camp in the Night; for the Country was full of Thickets: So they lay, that Night, upon their Arms, taking Care effectually to reinforce their Out-Guards.

IN

IN this Manner they paſſed the Night. The next Day, as ſoon as it was light, the Generals *led them to the Place* of Strength, and the Army followed, with their Arms and Baggage; and, before Noon, they had dug a Trench quite croſs the Neck of Land that leads to the Promontory, and fortified the whole Length of it with Paliſades, leaving three Gates. In the mean Time a Ship arrived from *Heraclea* laden with Barley-meal, Cattle, and Wine. *Xenophon* riſing early offered Sacrifice concerning an Expedition againſt the Enemy, and the firſt Victim was favourable. When the Sacrifice was near an End, *Arexion* of *Parrhaſie*, the Prieſt, ſaw an Eagle on the favourable ſide, and called out to *Xenophon* to lead on. After the Men had paſſed the Trench, they ſtood to their Arms, and the Generals ordered Proclamation to be made, that the Soldiers, as ſoon as they had dined, ſhould march with their Arms, leaving thoſe who had Care of the Baggage, and the Slaves behind. All the reſt went out, except *Neon*; for it was thought moſt adviſeable to leave him to command thoſe who remained in the Camp. But,

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when the Captains and Soldiers were about to leave them, they were aſhamed to ſtay behind, while the reſt marched out; ſo they left only thoſe, who were above five and forty Years of Age. Theſe therefore ſtaid in the Camp, and the reſt marched forward. Before they had gone fifteen Stadia, they came to the dead Bodies, and, [d] extending one of their Wings upon a ſingle Line, where the firſt of them lay, they buried all thoſe that fell within the Line. After they had buried theſe as they marched along, they formed a Line of the other Wing, where the firſt of the Bodies lay unburied, and, in the ſame Manner, buried thoſe that fell in their Way. And when they came to the Road, that led from the Villages, where the dead Bodies lay in Heaps, they brought them all together, and buried them.

IT being now paſt Noon, they marched

[d] Τὴν ἀρὰν τῦ κέρατ@· ποιησάμενοι, κατὰ τὺς πρώτυς φανέντας νεκρὺς, ἔθαπλον πάντας ὁπόσυς ἐπιλάμβανι τὸ κέρας. I very much ſuſpect that ἀρὰν τῦ κέρατ@· ποιήσασθαι ſignifies *to extend one of the Wings of an Army upon a Line*; but, as I do not find this Senſe of the Expreſſion ſupported by the Authority of any Author, or Lexicon, though I have conſulted many, I only offer it as a Conjecture, and leave it to the Conſideration of the Learned.

ed clear of the Villages, and, while the Men were employed in taking whatever Proviſions they met with within Reach of the Line, on a ſudden, they diſcovered the Enemy marching over ſome Hills oppoſite to them. Their Army was diſpoſed in a Line, and very numerous both in Horſe and Foot: For *Spithridates* and *Rathines* were there with the Forces they had received from *Pharnabazus*. As ſoon as the Enemy ſaw the *Greeks*, they halted at the Diſtance of about fifteen Stadia. Upon this, *Arexion*, the *Greek* Prieſt, immediately offered Sacrifice, and the very firſt Victim was favourable. Then *Xenophon* ſaid to the Generals, *Gentlemen! It is my Opinion that we ought to place ſome Bodies of Reſerve behind the Line of Battle, to ſuſtain it, if neceſſary, and that the Enemy when diſordered, they may be received by theſe Bodies of Reſerve, that will be freſh and in Order.* All this met with a general Approbation. *Do you therefore, continues he, advance againſt the Enemy, that, now we have ſeen them, and been ſeen by them, we may not ſtand ſtill; and I will form the Bodies of Reſerve in the Rear, in the manner you approve of, and follow you.*

BOOK VI.

UPON

BOOK VI.

UPON this the Generals advanced in Silence; and *Xenophon*, having ſeparated from the main Body the three hindmoſt Ranks, conſiſting of about two hundred Men each, placed one, commanded by *Samolas* of *Achaia*, behind the right Wing, another, of which *Pyrias* of *Arcadia* had the Command, behind the Center, and the third, commanded by *Phraſias*, an *Athenian*, behind the left Wing; theſe had Orders to follow the Line of Battle at the Diſtance of about one hundred Feet. As they marched on, thoſe in the Front, coming to a Valley [c], that was large, and difficult to paſs, halted, not knowing whether it were paſſable or not, and an Order was given for all the Generals and Captains to come up to the Front. *Xenophon* wondered what ſhould ſtop

[c] Ἐπὶ νάπει μεγάλῳ. I cannot approve of the Word *ſaltus*, which both *Leunclavius* and *Hutchinſon* have made Uſe of, upon this Occaſion, for νάπος; I am very ſenſible that νάπος ſignifies *ſaltus*, but I do not look upon that to be the Signification of the Word in this Place, becauſe he tells us afterwards that there was a Bridge over this νάπος, which I am ſure is, in no Degree, applicable to *ſaltus*, particularly, ſince he calls it, νάπος μέγα, which Addition puts it out of all Doubt that *Bocage épais* in *d'Ablancourt* is improper, ſince *Bocage* is a Diminutive. I have called it a *Valley*, in which I am ſupported by *Phavorinus*, who explains the Word in that Senſe; νάπος, ἡ κοιλότης τοῦ ὄρους.

ſtop their March; but, as ſoon as he heard the Order, he rode up in all Haſte. As ſoon as the officers were got together, *Sophænetus*, the oldeſt of the Generals, ſaid it [f] was not adviſeable to paſs a Valley of ſuch Difficulty: But *Xenophon*, anſwering with ſome earneſtneſs, ſaid, BOOK VI.

YOU know, Gentlemen! that I never willingly ſought Dangers for you: Becauſe I am ſenſible you want Safety, more than Glory: But this is our preſent Situation. It is not poſſible for us to go hence without fighting; for, if we do not engage the Enemy, as ſoon as we offer to depart, they will purſue us, and fall upon us in our Retreat. Conſider therefore with yourſelves, whether it is better for us to attack them with our Arms to cover us, or to ſee them purſuing us, when we are defenceleſs. You know alſo that there is no Honour to be got by flying from an Enemy, while even Cowards gain Courage by purſuing:

[f] Ὅτι οὐκ ἄξιον εἴη διαβαίνειν. I agree with *Hutchinſon* that *Stephanus* and *Muretus* had no Reaſon to find Fault with this Reading; I go further: He calls it *ſatis pura Scriptura*, but I think the Phraſe perfectly elegant, and of the ſame Turn with a Paſſage in *Demoſthenes*, quoted by *Suidas*, διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο μάλιστα ἄξιόν ἐστι σιωπᾶν, ὅτ' οὐκ ἔστ' ἐστὶν ὁ καταπλήσσων, οὐθ' ὁ καλάσων ἡμᾶς. Upon which Occaſion *Suidas* explains the Word in this Manner; ἄξιον· οἱ ῥήτορες ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐυλόγου καὶ δικαίου ἐκλαμβάνουσι.

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ing: For which Reason I had rather purſue with half the Number of Forces, than retreat with twice as many. Beſides I am confident that you yourſelves do not [g] *expect the Enemy will ſtand, if we attack them; but we are all ſenſible that, if we retire, they will have Courage enough to follow us. However, to be on the other Side, with a difficult Valley in our Rear when we engage, is not that an Advantage worth contending for? May the* [h] *Enemy find every Paſſage open to their Flight! Whereas the Situation of the Place ought to inſtruct us that we can have no Hope of Safety, but in Victory. I wonder any one ſhould think this Valley more dread-ful*

[g] Ελπίζετε. In this Senſe *Thucydides* uſes the Word in the Beginning of his Hiſtory, where he ſays, *that he choſe the* Peloponneſian *War for his Subject, becauſe he expected it would be of more Importance than any before it,* ἐλπίσας μέγαν τε ἔσεσθαι, καὶ ἀξιολογώτατον τῶν προγεγενημένων. Upon which the *Greek* Scholiaſt obſerves, τὸ ἐλπίσας, οὐ μόνον ἐπὶ ἀγαθῷ, ἀλλ' ἁπλῶς ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἐκβάσει λέγεται. After the Example of the *Greeks*, the *Latins* alſo gave this Senſe to the Word *ſpero*, as we find in *Virgil*, where *Dido*, in the Agony of her Mind, tells her Siſter,

Virgil, 4 *B.*

Hunc Ego ſi potui tantum ſperare *Dolorem,*
Et preferre, ſoror, potero.

[h] Τοῖς μὲν γὰρ πολεμίοις ἴγωγε βουλοίμην ἂν ἄπορα πάντα φαίνεσθαι, ὥστε ἀποχωρεῖν. This ſoldierly Wiſh of *Xenophon* that the Enemy might have Hopes of Safety in a Retreat, while his own Men had none but in Victory, is thus diſfigured by *d'Ablancourt*, *je voudrois que nous fuſſions ſi bien remparez de toutes Parts, qu'ils ne ſçuſſent pas par où nous attaquer, afin qu'ils ſe retiraſſent plutoſt.*

ful than ſo many other Places we have paſſed through. Shall we not find this very Place, where we now are, difficult to march over, if we do not overcome the Horſe? Will not the Mountains we have traverſed be difficult to repaſs with ſuch Numbers of Targeteers at our Heels? But admit even that we arrive at the Sea-Coaſt in Safety, how [i] *large a Valley is the* Euxine *Sea? Where we ſhall neither find Ships to tranſport us, or, if we ſtay there, Proviſions to ſubſiſt us. And, if we make Haſte thither, we muſt haſte abroad again to get Proviſions. We had better therefore fight now we have eaten ſomething, than to-morrow, when we are faſting. Gentlemen! the Sacrifices are favourable, the Omens happy, and the Victims aſſure us of Succeſs. Let us go on. Since the Enemy have ſeen us all, they ought not to eat their Supper with Satisfaction, or encamp where they pleaſe.*

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UPON

[i] Πόσον τι νάπος ὁ Πόντος; Methinks this Expreſſion ſhould have convinced the *Latin* Tranſlators that νάπος was not, upon this Occaſion, to be tranſlated by *ſaltus*; however, they have, I find, ſtill adhered to it, *Hutchinſon* has ſaid *quantus tandem ſaltus ipſe Pontus eſt?* And *Leunclavius*, *quantus quæſo ſaltus ipſum Pelagus Ponticum erit?* I expected *d'Ablancourt* would alſo have purſued his Tranſlation, and have ſaid, *quel Bocage ſera le Pont Euxin?* But he has prudently avoided this Abſurdity, by leaving out the whole Sentence.

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UPON this the Captains bid him lead on, and no one contradicted it: He therefore put himself at their Head, and ordered every Man to pass the Valley in his Rank, for he thought it would be more expeditious for the Army to pass over in a Body, than if they filed off over the Bridge, that lay cross the Valley. After they had passed it, *Xenophon*, coming up to the foremost Ranks, said, *Remember, Gentlemen! how many Battles, with the Assistance of the Gods you have gained, and what those are to expect who turn their Backs upon the Enemy. Consider also that we are at the Gates of* Greece. *Follow* Hercules *your Conductor, and exhort one another by Name. There is a Pleasure in reflecting that whoever, upon this Occasion, says or does any Thing brave and glorious, will be remembered by those whose Applause he is ambitious of.*

THIS he said as he rode along the Ranks: Then put himself at the Head of the Line of Battle, and, having placed the Targeteers upon the Wings, he marched against the Enemy. He had also ordered the heavy-armed Men to carry their

their Pikes on their right Shoulders, 'till the Trumpet ſounded; then to preſent them, and move ſlowly on: And that none ſhould run, when they purſued. Upon this the Word was given, JUPITER THE PRESERVER, AND HERCULES THE CONDUCTOR. The Enemy, encouraged by the Advantage of their Poſt, ſtood their Ground; and, when our Men drew near, the *Greek* Targeteers ſhouted, and ran on before they were ordered. The Enemy's Horſe, with the Body of *Bithynians*, advanced againſt them, and both together put the Targeteers to Flight: But, when the Line of Battle, conſiſting of the heavy-armed Men, marched briſkly up to meet them, and, at the ſame Time, the Trumpet ſounded, and the Men ſung [k] the Pæan, then ſhouted, and preſented their Pikes, they no longer ſtood their Ground, but fled. *Timaſion* purſued them with the Horſe, and his Men, being but few in Number, killed as many of them as they could. The Enemy's left Wing, which was oppoſite to the *Greek* Horſe, was pre-

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[k] Καὶ ἰπαιάνιζον. See note [l], page 88, upon the firſt Book.

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preſently diſperſed: But the right, not being cloſely purſued, rallied upon a Hill. As ſoon as the *Greeks* ſaw them make a Stand, they thought the eaſieſt and ſafeſt Thing they could do, was to charge them immediately. Accordingly, they ſung the Pæan, and advanced directly: But the Enemy did not ſtand: The Targeteers purſued them 'till their right Wing was alſo diſperſed. However, few of them were killed, for the Enemy's Horſe being very numerous, kept the *Greeks* in Awe. When our Men ſaw the Body of Horſe belonging to *Pharnabazus* ſtill unbroken, and the *Bithynian* Horſe flocking to them, and obſerving, from a Hill, what was doing, though they were ſpent with Labour, yet they reſolved to charge them alſo, as well as they could, that they might give them no Time to recover their Spirit, and Breath. So they formed themſelves, and marched againſt them. Upon this, the Enemy's Horſe fled down the Hill with as much Precipitation, as if they had been purſued by Horſe: For there was a Valley to receive them, which the *Greeks* knew nothing of, becauſe, as it was late, they had given over the Purſuit,

suit, before they came to it. Then re- BOOK
turning to the Place, where the first Ac- VI.
tion happened, they erected a Trophy, and came back to the Sea about Sunset. For they had near sixty Stadia to their Camp.

AFTER this, the Enemy employed themselves in their own Concerns, removing their Families and [1] Effects to the greatest Distance they could. In the mean Time, the *Greeks* waited for the Arrival of *Cleander* with the Gallies, and Transports; and, going out every Day with their sumpter Horses, and Slaves, they furnished themselves, in all Security, with Wheat, Barley, Wine, Legumens, Panic, and Figs; for the Country produced every Thing but Oil. While the Army lay in their Camp to refresh themselves, the Men had Liberty to go out for Plunder; and, upon those Occasions the Booty was their own: But, when the whole Army went out, if any one straggled from the rest, and got any Thing, they determined it should belong to the Public. The Camp now abounded in all Things,

[1] Τὰ χρήματα. See note [r], page 35, upon the first Book.

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Things, for Proviſions came from every Side out of the *Greek* Cities; and People, who ſailed along the Coaſt, being informed that a City was going to be built with a Haven, willingly put in there: And thoſe of the Enemy, who lived in the Neighbourhood, ſent to *Xenophon*, hearing he had the Conduct of the intended Settlement, to know what they ſhould do to deſerve his Friendſhip; and he ſhewed them to the Soldiers. In the mean Time, *Cleander* arrived with two Gallies, but no Tranſports. It happened that, when he came, the Army was gone out to get Proviſions, and a Party of Stragglers, going up the Mountain in Search of Plunder, took a great Number of Sheep; but, being afraid they ſhould be taken from them, they informed *Dexippus* of it, (the ſame who ran away, with the fifty Oar-Galley, from *Trebiſond*) and deſired him to ſecure the Sheep, agreeing that he ſhould retain ſome of them for his Pains, and reſtore the reſt.

IMMEDIATELY *Dexippus* drove away the Soldiers who ſtood round them, and told him the Sheep belonged to the Public; then went to *Cleander*, and informed

formed him that they endeavoured to take them away by Force. *Cleander* ordered him to bring the Man, who attempted it, before him. Upon that, *Dexippus* ſeized one of the Men, and was carrying him away, when *Agaſias*, meeting him, reſcued the Man; for he belonged to his Company: And the reſt of the Soldiers, who were preſent, threw Stones at *Dexippus*, calling him Traitor. This put not only him, but many of the Men alſo, who belonged to the Galleys, in Fear, and made them fly to the Sea; and *Cleander* himſelf was among thoſe who fled. Hereupon, *Xenophon*, and the reſt of the Generals endeavoured to ſuppreſs the Tumult, and told *Cleander*, that there was no Danger, and that all this was occaſioned by the ſtanding Order of the Army. But *Cleander*, being inflamed by *Dexippus*, and himſelf nettled for having diſcovered ſo much Fear, ſaid he would ſail away, and cauſe them to be proclaimed Enemies, and that, as ſuch, none of the *Greek* Cities ſhould receive them: For the [m] *Lacedæmonians* were, at that Time, the Maſters of all *Greece*.

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THE

[m] Ἦρχον δὲ τότε πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. See the Introduction, page 28, Vol. I.

BOOK VI.

THE *Greeks* looked upon this as an Affair of bad Conſequence, and begged of him not to do it: But he ſaid it could not be otherwiſe, unleſs they delivered up the Man, who began throwing Stones, together with the Perſon, who reſcued him. This was *Agaſias*, the conſtant Friend of *Xenophon*; for which Reaſon *Dexippus* had accuſed him. In this Perplexity, the Commanders called the Army together, and ſome of them treated *Cleander*, as a Man of no Importance; but *Xenophon* thought the Affair of no ſmall Conſequence, and, riſing up, ſaid,

GENTLEMEN! I look upon it as a Matter of great Moment, if Cleander *goes away, as he threatens, in this Diſpoſition: For we are now in the Neighbourhood of the* Greek *Cities, and, as the* Lacedæmonians *preſide over* Greece, *every ſingle* Lacedæmonian *can effect whatever he pleaſes in theſe Cities. If therefore this Man firſt ſhuts us out of* Byzantium *himſelf, then gives Notice to the reſt of the* Lacedæmonian *Governors not to receive us into their Cities, as Men refuſing Obedience to the* Lacedæmonians, *and abſolutely ungovernable, this Character*

Character of us will, at laſt, reach the Ears of Anaxibius, *the Admiral; and then, it will be difficult for us either to ſtay where we are, or to ſail away: For, at this Time, the* Lacedæmonians *command both at Sea, and Land. We ought not therefore, for the Sake of one, or two Men, to exclude ourſelves from* Greece, *but to obey them in every Thing: For the Cities, to which we belong, obey them. As to my own Particular (for I hear* Dexippus *tells* Cleander, *that* Agaſias *had never done this, if I had not given him Orders) for my Part I ſay, I am ready to clear both you and* Agaſias *of this Accuſation, if he will ſay that I was the Author of any of theſe Things, and to condemn myſelf, if I began throwing Stones, or any other Violence, to the laſt of Puniſhments, and will ſubmit to it. My Advice alſo is, that, if* Cleander *ſhould accuſe any other Perſon, he ought to ſurrender himſelf to him to be tried: By this Means you will be free from Cenſure. As Things now ſtand, it will be hard, if we, who expect to meet with Applauſe, and* Honour *in* Greece, *ſhould, inſtead of that, not even be in the ſame Condition with the reſt of our Countrymen; but be excluded from the* Greek *Cities.*

BOOK VI.

AFTER this, *Agaſias* roſe up, and ſaid, *Gentlemen! I call the Gods and Goddeſſes to witneſs, that, neither* Xenophon, *nor any other Perſon among you, ordered me to reſcue the Man: But, ſeeing* Dexippus *(who, you know, has betrayed you) carrying away a brave Man belonging to my Company, I thought it was not to be borne, and own I reſcued him. Think not of delivering me up, for I will ſurrender myſelf to* Cleander, *as* Xenophon *adviſes, to be tried by him, and uſed as he thinks fit. Let this be no Cauſe of War between you, and the* Lacedæmonians; *but, let every Man return, with Safety, to whatever Part of* Greece *he pleaſes. I only deſire you will chuſe ſome of your own Number, and ſend them with me, to* Cleander, *that, if I omit any Thing, they may both ſpeak, and act in my Behalf.* Upon this, the Army gave him Leave to chuſe ſuch Perſons as he thought proper to accompany him: And he choſe the Generals. *Agaſias*, and the Generals accordingly went to *Cleander*, together with the Man who had been reſcued by *Agaſias*; and the Generals ſpoke to *Cleander* in the following Manner:

THE Army has ſent us to you, O Cle- BOOK
ander! *and deſires, if you accuſe them all,* VI.
that you will yourſelf paſs Sentence upon them all, and treat them as you think fit: If one, or two, or more of them, they have thought proper theſe ſhould ſurrender themſelves to you, and ſubmit to your Judgment. If therefore you accuſe any of us, here we are before you: If any other, let us know it; for no Man ſhall refuſe to ſubmit to your Judgment, who will ſubmit to our Command. After this, *Agaſias*, advancing, ſaid, *I am the Perſon,* O Cleander! *that reſcued this Man, whom* Dexippus *was carrying away, and that gave Orders to our Men to ſtrike* Dexippus; *for I knew the Soldier to be a good Man, and that* Dexippus, *who had been choſen by the Army to command the Galley we begged of the Inhabitants of* Trebiſond, *in Order to get Ships together to tranſport us, had run away with the Galley, and betrayed the Soldiers, to whom he owed his Preſervation. Thus, he is the Cauſe not only of our having deprived the Inhabitants of* Trebiſond *of their Galley; but of our being looked upon, as ill Men, and, as far as it lay in his Power, of our Ruin; For he had heard, as well as we, that, if we went by Land, it was impoſſible for us to paſs*

BOOK VI.

the Rivers, that lay in our Way, and return to Greece. *Such is the Character of the Perſon, from whom I reſcued the Man. If either you or any one belonging to you, had been carrying him away, and not one of our own Deſerters, be aſſured that I ſhould have attempted no ſuch Thing. Know then, that, if you put me to Death, you will deſtroy a brave Man, for the Sake of a Coward, and a Villain.*

CLEANDER, hearing this, ſaid, he could not approve of the Conduct of *Dexippus*, if he had been guilty of theſe Things; *But*, adds he, *in my Opinion, though* Dexippus *were the worſt of Men, no Violence ſhould be offered to him, but that he ought to be tried, (in the Manner you yourſelves propoſe) and puniſhed, if guilty. As for you, leave* Agaſias *with me, and depart; and, when I give you Notice, be preſent at his Trial. I neither accuſe the Army, nor any other Perſon, ſince* Agaſias *himſelf owns he reſcued the Man.* Upon this, the Soldier, who had been reſcued, ſaid, *Though you ſeem to think, O* Cleander! *that I was apprehended, as an Offender, yet know that I neither ſtruck any one, or threw Stones at*

any;

any; I only said the Sheep belonged to the Public: For the Soldiers had made an Order that, when the whole Army went out, whatever Booty was taken by any particular Person, should belong to the Public. This was all I said, and, for this, Dexippus *seized me with a Design to carry me away, that, every Man's Mouth being stopped, he might have his Share of the Booty, and secure the rest for his Accomplices, contrary to* [n] *the standing Order of the Army.* To this, *Cleander* answered, *Since you are that Kind of Man, stay here, that we may consider what to do with you also.* BOOK VI.

AFTER this, *Cleander*, and his Company went to Dinner: And *Xenophon*, assembling the Army, advised them to send some Persons to *Cleander* to intercede for the Men. Hereupon, they resolved to send the Generals, and Captains, together with *Dracontius*, the *Spartan*, and other proper Persons, to entreat *Cleander*, by all Means,

[n] Παρὰ τὴν ῥήτραν. I have taken ῥήτρα here in the same Sense that *Plutarch* says *Lycurgus* used it when he called his Decrees by that Name: I am sensible that the Word also signifies an *Agreement*, but, as our Author calls the same Thing τῶν κρατιστῶν δόγμα a few Lines before, I have chosen to give it that Sense here also. *Leunclavius* and Plutarch *in his Lives of* Agesilaus. *Hutchinson*, I think, not so well, *contra Pactum*. *D'Ablancourt* has, according to his Custom where he meets with a Difficulty, left it out.

BOOK VI. Means, to releaſe them. As ſoon as *Xenophon* came to him, he ſaid, *The Men you demanded, O* Cleander! *are in your Hands, and the Army makes you not only Maſter of their Fate, but of its own. However, they now conjure you to give up theſe two Men to them, and not to put them to Death; becauſe, upon all Occaſions, both of them have taken great Pains to do Service to the Army. If they can prevail upon you in this, they promiſe you, in Return, if you think fit to be their General, and the Gods are propitious, to let you ſee both how obſervant they are, and how incapable, while they obey their Commander, and Heaven aſſiſts them, of fearing an Enemy. They alſo beg of you, that, when you are with them, and have taken upon you the Command, you will make Trial of* Dexippus, *and of themſelves, and others, and then reward each, according to his Merit. Cleander*, hearing this, ſaid, *By* [o] Caſtor *and* Pollux, *I will return*

Ariſtoph. Eiρ. V. 213.

[o] Ναὶ μὰ τὼ Σιώ. This was an Oath much uſed by the *Lacedæmonians*; by τὼ Σιὼ are meant the two Brother-Gods, *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, as we find by what the *Greek* Scholiaſt obſerves upon the following Paſſage of *Ariſtophanes*, where *Mercury* ſays to *Trygæus*, in the *Lacedæmonian* Style,

Ναὶ τὼ Σιὼ, νῦν Ατθικίων δώσει δίκην.

Upon this the Scholiaſt ſays, Ἅτω τὰς Διοσκούρους οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Σιὰς ἔλεγον· ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι Θεὰς, Δήμητρα καὶ Περσεφόνην.

return you an Answer immediately: I not only give you up the Men, but will come to you myself; and, if the Gods are, in any Degree, favourable, I will conduct you into Greece. *Your Discourse is very different from the Reports I have heard of some of you, as if you were endeavouring to render the Army disaffected to the* Lacedæmonians. BOOK VI.

AFTER this, those who were sent by the Army, applauded him, and returned with the two Men. *Cleander* offered Sacrifice concerning the Journey, and conversed, in a friendly Manner, with *Xenophon*, and they two contracted an [p] Intercourse of Hospitality: And, when he saw the Obedience, and exact Discipline of the Army, he was still more desirous of commanding them. But, after he had offered Sacrifice for three Days, and the Victims were not favourable, he called the Generals together, and said, *The Victims will not allow me to conduct the Army; but let not that discourage you: For it looks as if this was reserved for you. Go on therefore; and, when you are arrived at* Byzantium, *we will receive you in the best Manner we are able.*

UPON

[p] *Xenias.* See note [n], page 11, upon the first Book.

BOOK VI.

UPON this, the Soldiers thought proper to make him a Present of the Sheep that belonged to the Public; These he accepted, and gave them to the Army again, and then sailed away. The Soldiers, having [q] sold the Corn they had brought with them, and the rest of the Booty they had taken, marched on through *Bithynia*; and, meeting nothing in the direct Road to

[q] Διαθέμενοι τὸν σῖτον. I have been obliged to differ from all the Translators, both *Latin*, and *French*, in the Sense I have given to the Word διαθέμενοι; the former have rendered it *diviso*, *distributo frumento*, and *d'Ablancourt*, *les Soldats le partagerent*, which Signification I will not say absolutely the Word will not bear, though I believe it very uncommon; but I really think the Sense will not bear it here, for our Author says they marched back, that they might carry something with them into the Territories of their Friends, which they might have done, without marching back, had they before *divided* among themselves the Booty they had taken: I have therefore said, *after they had sold the Corn, and the rest of their Booty*, which is a very common Acceptation of the Word διατίθεσθαι, and the very Sense, in which our Author uses it in his *Cyropædia*, where he makes *Cyrus* tell his Officers, and those of the *Hyrcanians*, that they should divide the Money, in such a Proportion, among the Horse, and Foot, ὑμεῖς δὲ λαβόντες διαδίδοτε, ἱππεῖ μὲν, τὸ διπλῶν, πεζῷ δὲ, τὸ ἁπλοῦν, and, a little after, that they should publish an Order for the Suttelers, and Merchants to sell their Commodities, and, when they had *sold* them, to bring others, πωλεῖν δὲ τὰς καπήλους καὶ ἐμπόρους ὅ τι ἔχει ἑκάστῳ πρόσιμον· καὶ ταῦτα διαθεμένους, ἄλλα ἄγειν: Upon this Occasion I desire the Reader will take Notice, first, that διαδίδοτε, not διατίθεσθε, is the Word made use of there, by our Author, for *dividite*, *distribuite*; secondly, that he there uses διαθεμένοι in the same Sense I have translated it, upon this Occasion, in which Sense also both *Leunclavius*, and *Hutchinson* have rendered the Word, in translating that Passage of the *Cyropædia*.

Κύρου παιδ. 4 B.

to carry with them into the Territories of their Friends, they resolved to march back one Day, and a Night: And, having done so, they took great Numbers both of Slaves, and Cattle; and, after six Days March, arrived at [r] *Chrysopolis*, a Town of *Chalcedonia*, and there they staid seven Days, to sell their Booty. BOOK VI.

[r] Εις Χρυσόπολιν. *Chrysopolis* was no more than a Village in *Strabo*'s Time, that is, in the Time of *Augustus*, Strabo, κὴ νῦν Χρυσόπολις; it is now called *Scutari*, and, though 12 *B.* separated from *Constantinople* by the *Bosphorus*, is looked upon, by the *Turks*, as one of the Suburbs of their Capital. *Polybius* informs us that the *Athenians*, being in possession of *Chrysopolis*, endeavoured, by the Advice of *Alcibiades*, to oblige those who sailed through the *Bosphorus* into the *Euxine* Sea, to pay Toll. This was, many Ages after, put in Practice with greater Effect by *Mahomet* the Second, by Means of a Castle which he built upon a Cape on the Side of *Europe*, where the Temple of *Mercury*, called by *Polybius* Ερμαῖον, formerly stood; opposite to this Castle *Mourat* the Second had, before, built a Castle on the *Asiatic* Side, called, by the modern *Greeks*, *Neocastron*. This Castle *Mahomet* the Second, upon his succeeding *Mourat*, fortified considerably: The Streight between those two Castles *Polybius* says is the narrowest of the whole *Bosphorus*, it being but about five Stadia (near half an *English* Mile) over. The same Author adds that this was the Pass, over which *Darius Hystaspes* caused *Mandrocles* of *Samos*, as he is called by *Herodotus*, an eminent Architect, to lay a Bridge, over which he passed his Army, consisting of seven hundred thousand Men, to make War upon the *Scythians*.

Tournefort, 15 *Letter.*

Polybius, 4 *B.*

Ib.

Herodot. *in* Melpomene.

The End of the Sixth Book.

A

DISSERTATION

UPON THE

ARGONAUTIC EXPEDITION.

Hiſtoire du Ciel, 32 c.

I Shall take this Opportunity to conſider what the learned, and polite Author of the *Hiſtory of Heaven* has advanced upon the Subject of the *Argonautic* Expedition; he contends, it ſeems, that it is all a Fiction; his Reaſons are theſe: He begins by proving, from *Herodotus*, and *Strabo*, that the *Colchians*, who are ſuppoſed to have been the Poſſeſſors of the Golden Fleece, were a Colony of the *Ægyptians*, and that, like them, they were famous for their Linen Manufacture, which drew the *Greeks* to *Colchis*, in order to traffic with them: Upon this Foundation that Gentleman builds the following Syſtem; he ſuppoſes that, when the

the *Colchians* were to be ſummoned to leave their fiſhing for Gold, with Fleeces, in the River *Phaſis*, in order to apply themſelves to their Linen Manufacture, they put a Shuttle into the Hands of *Iſis*, and becauſe ארגנאטון *Argonatoun* ſignifies, in *Hebrew*, *the Manufacture of Linen*, he concludes that the *Greek* Merchants, who were at *Colchis*, called this Shuttle, from the Reſemblance which it has to a Ship, *Argonaus*. He goes on, and ſays that ישון *Jaſhon*, ſignifies, in *Hebrew*, *to ſleep*, and מדה *Mideh*, *a Meaſure*, and that, when the *Colchians* were ſummoned to leave fiſhing for Gold, with their Fleeces, and apply themſelves to their Linen Manufacture, they were obliged to watch great Part of the Night, and, conſequently, their *Sleep was regulated*; from whence he infers, that the *Greeks*, hearing the Words *Jaſhon* and *Mideh* often pronounced by the *Colchians*, framed the Fable of the *Ship Argo*, *Jaſon*, *Medea*, and *the Golden Fleece*. This is the Syſtem of that learned Gentleman, which, I am apt to believe, will hardly find ſo great Succeſs in the World as all the reſt of that Author's Writings have deſervedly met with. I

am very willing to allow that the *Colchians* were a Colony of the *Ægyptians*, and that, according to the Teſtimony of *Herodotus*, they ſpoke the ſame Language, and had the ſame Religion, the ſame Laws, the ſame Cuſtoms, and the ſame Manufactures, particularly that of Linen. But is an Affinity between ſome *Hebrew* Words, and the Names of *Argonaut*, *Jaſon*, and *Medea* a ſufficient Authority to overthrow an Expedition ſupported by the concurrent Teſtimony of all ancient Authors, both *Greeks*, and *Romans*, Poets, and Hiſtorians? But this Affinity will ſtill have leſs Weight, when it is conſidered that the Language the *Colchians* ſpoke, being, with great Reaſon, ſuppoſed, by this Gentleman, to be the *Ægyptian*, an Affinity between the *Hebrew* Words, and thoſe Names, will be no Proof of what is contended for, unleſs an Affinity between the *Ægyptian*, and *Hebrew* Languages, be firſt eſtabliſhed; but that is a Taſk not eaſy to be performed, ſince the *Ægyptian* Language is ſo far loſt, that not one Letter of it has eſcaped: There are, indeed, ſome few *Egyptian* Words to be met with in the *Greek*, and *Latin* Authors, but then they

In Euterpe.

they are written in the Characters of the Language thoſe Authors writ in; but even theſe few Words contradict the Suppoſition of that Affinity between the *Ægyptian*, and *Hebrew* Languages: As for Example, *Pliny* tells us that *Obeliſcus* ſignifies, in *Ægyptian*, *a Ray of the Sun*, which is very probable, becauſe their Obeliſks were dedicated to the Sun, whereas, in *Hebrew*, קרן *Kran* ſignifies *a Ray of the Sun*. But the Author, of all others, who will furniſh us with moſt Materials for this Purpoſe, is *Diodorus Siculus*, from whom I ſhall take ſome Paſſages, which will evidently ſhew that the Suppoſition of an Affinity between the *Ægyptian*, and *Hebrew* Languages, which is the Point laboured throughout by the Author of the *Hiſtory of Heaven*, is without Foundation. *Diodorus* tells us that the two foremoſt of the long Catalogue of Divinities, adored by the *Ægyptians*, were the Sun and Moon, worſhipped by them under the well-known Names of *Oſiris*, and *Iſis*, and that the firſt is an *Ægyptian* Word, which, being tranſlated into the *Greek* Language, ſignifies πολυόφθαλμος, *many-eyed*: This Word is not, I believe, to be met with in

Pl. N. H. 36 *B.* 14 *c.*

Diod. Sic. 1 *B.*

the ſacred Writings, but רב *Rab*, in *Hebrew*, ſignifies *many*, and עין *Ngin an Eye*, neither of which has the leaſt Affinity to the *Ægyptian* Word *Oſiris*: The ſame Author tells us that *Iſis* is an *Ægyptian* Word alſo, which, being tranſlated into *Greek*, ſignifies παλαιὰ *Old*, this, in *Hebrew*, is זקן *Zeken*: Here again there is not the leaſt Shadow of an Affinity. The ſame Author ſays that *Athena*, the *Ægyptian Pallas*, is alſo an *Ægyptian* Word, ſignifying, in *Greek*, ἀὴρ the *Air*, *the Sky*, or *viſible Heaven*, ſo that he very juſtly gathers that the Epithet, γλαυκῶπις *blue-eyed*, was much more applicable to *Pallas* from that Senſe of the Word than becauſe ſhe was ſuppoſed by the *Greeks*, to have *blue Eyes*. In *Hebrew*, *the Sky* is שמים *Shamaim*. Here again there is no Pretence to any Affinity between the two Languages. Towards the End of the firſt Book, the ſame Author obſerves that *Charon* in *Ægyptian*, ſignifies πρωρεὺς in *Greek*, *a Pilot*, from whence he ſays the *Greeks* took the Name of their imaginary Ferryman, as they took the Fable of his carrying over the Souls of the Departed, and of their Trials before the three infer-

nal

nal Judges, from the real Trial which all the Deceaſed, among the *Ægyptians*, underwent, before they were ſuffered to be honoured with Funeral Rites. Upon this Occaſion, *Diodorus Siculus*, with great Reaſon, complains that the *Greeks*, by turning this Practice of the *Ægyptians* into a Fable, have defeated the End of its Inſtitution; for, he ſays, the Fictions, propagated by their Poets, of the Rewards of the Virtuous, and of the Puniſhments of the Wicked, inſtead of promoting a Reformation of Manners, are laughed at by ill Men, and received with general Contempt; whereas, among the *Ægyptians*, the Puniſhments of the Wicked, and the Rewards of the Virtuous, being not fictitious, but viſible to all the World, and the daily Subject of Honour, or Infamy to the Families of both, are, of all others, the greateſt Incitement to Virtue. Now the *Hebrew* Word for *a Pilot* is חבל *Hhoble*, which is far enough from *Charon*. The laſt *Ægyptian* Word I ſhall make Uſe of, ſhall be from *Herodotus*, who ſays that, in the *Ægyptian* Language, Crocodiles are called *Champſæ*, καλέονται δὲ, ὑπ' ἡρακλέων δειλοι, ἀλλὰ χάμψαι. I am ſenſible there is ſome Diverſity of Opinions concerning

Herodot. *in* Euterp.

the

the Sea monſter, called in the Book of
Job xli. *Job*, לויתן *Levithan*; however, there is little Room to doubt of its being a Crocodile, which Opinion is ſupported by *Bochart*, who proves it by a Paſſage of the
Hierozoicon P. I. L. I. *c.* 7. & P. II. L. V. *c.* 16, 17. *Thalmud*, where it is ſaid that the כלבית *Calbith*, or the *Ichneumon*, as he calls it, is the Terror of the *Leviathan*. But the Deſcription of it, in the Book of *Job*, will, I believe, be found to be applicable to no other Animal. *Canſt thou fill his Skin with barbed Irons? or his Head with Fiſh-ſpears? Behold the Hope of catching him is vain: Shall not a Man be caſt down even at the Sight of him? None is ſo fierce that dare ſtir him up.—Who can open the Doors of his Face? His Teeth are terrible round about. His Scales are his Pride, ſhut up together as with a cloſe Seal; one ſo near to another that no Air can come between them; they are joined one to another, they ſtick together, that they cannot be ſundered. When he ſneezes, the Light flaſhes, and his Eyes are like the Eye-Lids of the Morning.—When he raiſeth up himſelf the Mighty are afraid.—The Sword of him that layeth at him cannot hold; the Spear, the Dart, or the Breaſt-plate. He eſteemeth Iron as Straw, and Braſs as rotten Wood.* After this Deſcription of the

the Fierceneſs of the *Leviathan* and of his offenſive and defenſive Weapons, I am ſurprized that it ſhould ever have been taken for the Whale, which is a Creature terrible in nothing but his Bulk, and of a ſluggiſh, rather than a fierce Diſpoſition. Now, it is certain that no two Words can be, in all Reſpects, more diſtant from one another, than *Leviathan* and *Champſce*: And, indeed, how ſhould the *Ægyptian* Language, have any Reſemblance to any other, when, if the Account given by *Herodotus* is to be depended on, the *Ionians*, and *Carians*, who aſſiſted *Pſammitichus* in deſtroying his Brother Kings, being eleven in Number, were the firſt Perſons, ſpeaking a different Language, whoever ſettled in *Ægypt*, ϖρῶτοι γὰρ ὅτοι (Ιωνές τε καὶ Κᾶρες) ἐν Αιγύπτῳ ἀλλόγλωσσοι κατοικίσθησαν. From this Settlement of the *Ionians*, and *Carians* in *Ægypt*, *Herodotus* dates the Beginning of the Intercourſe between the *Ægyptians*, and the *Greeks*, and, very probably, their Intercourſe with the *Phœnicians* began ſoon after, from whom poſſibly, they may have taken ſome Terms relating to Commerce, and to ſome other Things, they might have learned from them, which, from the Affinity between

Herodot. *in* Euterp.

the *Phœnician*, and *Hebrew* Languages, may have ſome diſtant Reſemblance to a few Terms of the latter. There are a few more *Ægyptian* Words to be met with in *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, which have no more Affinity with the *Hebrew*, than thoſe I have mentioned; it is poſſible the *Chineſe* Language may, for ſome Reaſons that do not belong to this Subject, be found to have more Affinity with that of the *Ægyptians*. But, if the concurrent Teſtimony of ſo many Authors is not thought ſufficient to eſtabliſh the Reality of the *Argonautic* Expedition, we muſt call in the Aſſiſtance of the Stars to ſupport it; half the Sphere is peopled with *Argonauts*, or furniſhed with ſomething relating to them; no wonder when either *Chiron*, the Maſter of *Jaſon*, or *Muſæus*, one of the *Argonauts*, was the firſt Inventor of it, and adorned it with Aſteriſms. There is the golden Ram, the Enſign of the Veſſel, in which *Phryxus* fled to *Colchis*; the Bull with brazen Hoofs tamed by *Jaſon*; and the Twins, *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, two of the *Argonauts*, with the Swan of *Leda*, their Mother. There is the Ship *Argo*, and *Hydrus* the watchful Dragon, with *Medea*'s Cup, and a Raven upon its Car-

Sir Iſaac Newton's *Chronic. Ex. p.* 84.

Carcaſs, the Symbol of Death. There is *Chiron* the Maſter of *Jaſon* with his Altar and Sacrifice. There is the *Argonaut Hercules* with his Dart and the Vulture falling down; and the Dragon, Crab, and Lion, which he ſlew; and the Harp of the *Argonaut Orpheus*. But, it may be ſaid that the *Argonautic* Expedition is as fictitious as the Aſteriſms, by which it is delineated. However, the Poſition of the Æquinoxes, and Solſtices, in Relation to thoſe Aſteriſms, at the Time of that Expedition, is not fictitious; and we know that thoſe four Cardinal Points, then anſwered to the middle, that is the 15th Degrees, of *Aries*, *Cancer*, *Chelæ*, and *Capricorn*; this Poſition, I ſay, is not fictitious, any more than the Retrogradation of the Æquinoxes, and Solſtices, not after the rate of 100 Years to a Degree, as *Hipparchus*, and the *Greek* Aſtronomers thought, but after the rate of 72 only, as the modern Philoſophers have diſcovered: The Cauſe of which Retrogradation, or, to ſpeak in the Language of the Aſtronomers, of which Preceſſion of the Æquinoxes, was unknown to all of them, 'till Sir *Iſaac Newton*, by that amazing Saga-

city, which was peculiar to him, and which gave him ſo viſible a Superiority over all other Philoſophers of all Nations, and all Ages, not only diſcovered, but clearly demonſtrated, that it is owing to the broad ſpheroidical Figure of the Earth, and that this Figure ariſes from the Rotation of the Earth round its Axis. It will, I believe, be thought ſtrange that ſuch a Cloud of Authorities ſhould be diſpelled by the ſingle Breath of one Man, ſupported by no other Arguments, than a ſtrained Analogy between three, or four *Hebrew* Words, and the Names of *Argonaut*, *Jaſon* and *Medea*. I ſhall end this long, and I fear, tedious Note with declaring that, though I have the Misfortune of differing in Opinion with the Author of the *Hiſtory of Heaven* upon this Occaſion, yet I have all the Deference in the World both for his Learning, and his polite Manner of communicating it to the Public, and all poſſible Gratitude for the Pleaſure, and Inſtruction I have had in reading his Works.

THE

THE EXPEDITION OF CYRUS.

BOOK VII.

THE preceding Diſcourſe contains a Relation of the Actions the *Greeks* performed during their Expedition with *Cyrus* to the Battle, of thoſe they atchieved after his Death, during their Retreat, 'till they came to the *Euxine* Sea, and of thoſe they performed, after their Departure thence, both by Sea, and Land, 'till they arrived at *Chryſopolis*, a City of *Aſia*, ſituated without the Mouth of that Sea.

AFTER

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AFTER this, *Pharnabazus*, fearing left the *Greeks* ſhould make an Irruption into the Country under his Command, ſent to *Anaxibius* the Admiral, (who happened to be then at *Byzantium*) to deſire he would tranſport the Army out of *Aſia*, with Aſſurance that, in Return, he would do every Thing, that could reaſonably be expected. Hereupon, *Anaxibius* ſent for the Generals and Captains to *Byzantium*; and promiſed, if the Army came over, they ſhould have Pay. The reſt of the Officers told him, they would conſider of it, and let him know their Reſolution; but *Xenophon* ſaid he propoſed to leave the Army, and wanted to ſail away. However *Anaxibius* deſired he would come over with the Army, before he left it, which the other conſented to.

IN the mean Time, *Seuthes*, the *Thracian*, ſent *Medoſades* to *Xenophon* to deſire he would let him have his Aſſiſtance in prevailing upon the Army to paſs into *Europe*, aſſuring him he ſhould have no Reaſon to repent it. *Xenophon* ſaid, *The Army will certainly paſs over: Let him not therefore give any Thing either to me, or to any*

any other Perſon, upon that Account. As ſoon as it is tranſported, I ſhall depart; let him therefore apply to thoſe who ſtay, and may be of Service to him, in ſuch a Manner as he thinks fit.

AFTER this the whole Army paſſed over to *Byzantium*; but *Anaxibius* gave them no Pay: However, he publiſhed an Order that the Soldiers ſhould go out of the Town with their Arms, and Baggage, as if he deſigned to diſmiſs them, and to take an Account of their Numbers at the ſame Time. The Soldiers were uneaſy at this; becauſe they had no Money to furniſh themſelves with Proviſions for their March; and packed up their Baggage with Reluctance.

XENOPHON, having before contracted an Intercourſe of Hoſpitality with *Cleander*, the *Lacedæmonian* Governor, went to take his Leave of him, deſigning to ſet ſail immediately. But he ſaid to him, I deſire you will not do it; if you do, you will be blamed; for you are already accuſed by ſome People as the Cauſe of the Army's creeping ſo ſlowly

out

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out of the Town. *Xenophon* anſwered, I am not the Cauſe of this; but the Soldiers, being in want of Money to buy Proviſions, are for that Reaſon, of themſelves, unwilling to leave the Town. However, ſays *Cleander*, I adviſe you to go out with them, as if you deſigned to proceed; and, when the Army is out of the Town, to depart. Let us go then, ſays *Xenophon*, to *Anaxibius*, and ſettle it in this Manner: And coming to him, they informed him of what they had determined. He adviſed them to purſue it, and that the Army ſhould immediately go out with their Baggage: At the ſame Time he deſired they would alſo give Notice, that whoever abſented himſelf from the Review, and Muſter, ſhould incur their Cenſure. Upon this, the Generals firſt, and, after them, the reſt of the Army went out of the Town. They were now all out, except a few, and *Eteonicus* ſtood ready at the Gates to ſhut, and bolt them, as ſoon as they were all gone.

ANAXIBIUS therefore, calling together the Generals, and Captains, ſaid, *You may ſupply yourſelves with Proviſions out*

of the Thracian *Villages, where there is great Plenty of Barley, and Wheat, and of all Things neceſſary: As ſoon as you have furniſhed yourſelves, go on to the* [a] Cherſoneſus, *where* Cyniſcus *will give you Pay.* Some of the Soldiers overheard this, or, poſſibly, one of the Captains informed the Army of it. In the mean Time, the Generals enquired concerning *Seuthes*, whether he were a Friend, or an Enemy; and whether they were to march over the holy Mountain, or round through the Middle of *Thrace*. BOOK VII.

WHILE they were engaged in this Diſcourſe, the Soldiers ſnatched up their Arms,

[a] Εις τὴν Χερρόνησον. The *Thracian Cherſoneſus* was ſeparated from the reſt of *Thrace* by a Wall reaching, from the *Propontis*, to the Bay called *Sinus Melas*, in the *Ægean* Sea. This Wall was built by *Dercyllidas*, the *Lacedæmonian* General, the ſecond Year of the 95th Olympiad, that is, the Year after *Xenophon* brought back the Remains of the Soldiers, who had ſerved under *Cyrus*: This Wall was begun in the Spring, and ended before the Autumn of the ſame Year; it reached from Sea to Sea quite croſs the Iſthmus, and was in Length thirty-ſeven Stadia, that is, about three *Engliſh* Miles and three Quarters: This *Cherſoneſus* contained in it eleven Towns, many Sea-Ports, and a large Extent of arable Land, Woods, and rich Paſtures. It afterwards belonged to *Agrippa*, Son-in-Law to *Auguſtus*, and one of the greateſt Men of that, or of any other Age: At his Death it came to *Auguſtus*. It is great Pity that Part of the ſeventh Book of *Strabo* is loſt, where he treats of this *Cherſoneſus*. Pl. N. H. 4 B. Diod. Sic. 14 B. Xenoph. Ελλην. 3 B. Dion. Caſſius 54 B.

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Arms, and ran haſtily to the Gates, with a Deſign to force their way back into the Town. But *Eteonicus*, with thoſe about him, when they ſaw the heavy-armed Men running to the Gates, immediately ſhut, and bolted them. Upon this, the Soldiers [b] knocked at the Gates, and complained they were treated with great Injuſtice, in being ſhut out of the Town, as a Prey to the Enemy; threatening to cut the Gates aſunder, if they would not open them. Some ran to the Sea, and got over the [c] Mole into the Town; and others, who happened to be within, obſerving what was doing at the Gates, cleft the Bars with Hatches, and ſet them open: Upon this they all ruſhed in.

XENOPHON, ſeeing what paſſed, and being afraid the Army ſhould fall to plundering, and, by that Means, an irreparable Miſchief ſhould be done, not only to the Town, but to himſelf, and the Soldiers, ran in all Haſte, and got within the

[b] Ἐκοπτον τὰς πύλας. *Lucian* for ever uſes this Word in the Senſe I have given it here.

[c] Παρὰ τὴν χηλήν. Χηλαί· οἱ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ πρὸς θάλασσαν τείχους προβεβλημένοι λίθοι, διὰ τὴν τῶν κυμάτων βίαν, μὴ τὸ τεῖχος βλάπτοιτο· παρὰ τὸ ἐοικέναι χηλῇ βοός. *Suidas.*

the Gates, together with the Croud. As soon as the Inhabitants saw the Army break in, they fled out of the Market, some hurrying to the Ships, others to their Houses, and those, who were within Doors, ran out: Some haled down the Galleys into the Sea, in Hopes of saving themselves in them: And all thought themselves undone, the Town being taken. Upon this, *Eteonicus* fled to the Citadel; and *Anaxibius* running down to the Sea, sailed round to the same Place, in a Fisher-Boat, and immediately, sent for the Garrison from *Chalcedon*: For he did not think that in the Citadel sufficient for its Defence. BOOK VII.

As soon as the Soldiers saw *Xenophon*, they crouded about him, and said, *You have now an Opportunity*, O Xenophon! *of making yourself a Man. You are Master of a Town, of Gallies, of Money, and of so many People: You have now the Power, if you think fit, of making us rich, and we that of making you considerable. You say well*, says *Xenophon*; *and I will follow your Advice: If, therefore, this is your Desire, place yourselves in your Ranks immediately, and handle*

BOOK VII.

your Arms. He gave theſe Orders with a Deſign to quiet them, and, for the ſame Reaſon, directed the Reſt of the Officers to give Orders that their Men alſo ſhould ſtand to their Arms. The Soldiers drew up of their own accord, the heavy-armed Men preſently forming themſelves into a Body of fifty deep, and the Targeteers repairing to each of the Wings. The Place where they ſtood was called the *Thracian* Square, and being free from Houſes, and even, was very proper for a Parade. When they all ſtood armed in their Ranks, and their Minds were appeaſed, *Xenophon* addreſſed himſelf to the Aſſembly, in the following Manner;

GENTLEMEN! I am not at all ſurprized at your Reſentment, and that you look upon yourſelves as very ill uſed, by being impoſed on. But, if we indulge our Anger, and not only take Revenge of the Lacedæmonians, *who are preſent, for this Impoſition, but plunder the City, that is, in no Degree, guilty, conſider what will be the Conſequence: We ſhall, from that Moment, be the declared Enemies both of the* Lacedæmonians, *and of their Allies; and, of what Nature this War will*

will be, may be eaſily gueſſed, by thoſe who have ſeen, and call to Mind what has happened of late Years. For, when [d] *we* Athenians *entered upon the War with the* Lacedæmonians, *and their Allies, we had a Fleet of no leſs than four hundred Galleys, ſome of which were at Sea, and others, in* [e] *the Docks: We had a great Sum of Money in the Treaſury, and an annual Revenue payable both by the Citizens, and Foreigners, of no leſs than* [f] *one thouſand Talents: We had the Command of all the Iſlands; we were poſſeſſed of many Cities both in* Aſia, *and* Europe, *and even of* Byzantium, *where we now are: Yet, with all theſe Advantages, we were overcome by them, as you all know. What then have we now to expect, when the* Lacedæmonians, *and the* Achæans *are united, and the* Athenians, *with thoſe who were then in Alliance with them, are all become an Acceſſion to their Power? When* [g] Tiſſaphernes, *and all the reſt of the* Barbarians, *who inhabit the Sea-Coaſt,*

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[d] Ημεῖς γὰρ οἱ Αθηναῖοι. See the Introduction.

[e] Ἐν τοῖς νεωρίοις. Νεώρια λέγεται ὁ τόπος ἅπας, εἰς ὃν ἀνέλκονται αἱ τριήρεις, ἢ πάλιν ἐξ αὐτοῦ καθέλκονται. *Harpocration.* For which he cites *Lycurgus*, and *Andocides*.

[f] Χιλίων Ταλάντων. See note [m], page 9, upon the firſt Book.

[g] Τισσαφέρνης. See note [f], page 6, upon the firſt Book.

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Coaſt, are our Enemies, and the King of Perſia *himſelf the moſt inveterate of all, againſt whom we have made War with a Deſign to deprive him of his Kingdom, and if poſſible, of his Life too? When all theſe join their Forces, is there any one ſo void of Senſe, as to flatter himſelf that we ſhall prove ſuperior to them? for Heaven's Sake, Gentlemen! let us not go mad, and periſh with Diſhonour, by becoming the proclaimed Enemies to our Fathers, our Friends, and our Relations? For theſe all live in the Cities, that will make War upon us: And not without Reaſon; if, having declined to poſſeſs ourſelves of any Town belonging to the* Barbarians, *whom we vanquiſhed, we ſhould plunder the firſt* Greek *City we arrive at. For my Part, I wiſh, before I ſee you guilty of ſuch Things, I may be buried ten thouſand Fathom deep: And would adviſe you, as you are* Greeks, *to endeavour, by your Obedience to the Maſters of* Greece, *to obtain Juſtice. But, if your Endeavours ſhould prove ineffectual, we ought not, however, though wronged, to deprive ourſelves of all poſſibility of returning Home. My Opinion therefore now is, that we ſhould ſend ſome Perſons to* Anaxibius, *to acquaint him, that we did not come into*

into the Town with a Deſign to commit Violence, but, if poſſible, to obtain Favour; and, if we fail in this, to let him ſee that we are ready to leave it again, not becauſe we are impoſed upon, but becauſe we are willing to obey.

THIS was reſolved upon: So they ſent *Heronymus* of *Elis*, *Eurylochus* of *Arcadia*, and *Phileſius* of *Achaia* to him, with theſe Inſtructions. While the Soldiers were yet aſſembled, *Cyratades*, a *Theban*, came to them. This Man was not baniſhed from *Greece*, but wandered about, from an Ambition to command Armies, offering himſelf to any City, or Nation, that had Occaſion for a General. He told them, he was ready to conduct them to that Part of *Thrace*, called the [h] *Delta*, where they ſhould make their Fortunes, and that, 'till they arrived there, he would ſupply them with Meat, and Drink in Plenty. While he was ſaying this, the Soldiers received an Anſwer from *Amaxibius*, who aſſured them they ſhould have no

[h] Τὸ Δελτα καλεμενον τῆς Θρᾴκης. Beſides the *Egyptian Delta*, other Places were, from their triangular Figure, called by that Name by the Ancients, for *Strabo* mentions an Iſland, called *Pattalene*, lying at the Mouth of the *Indus*, which, he ſays, *Oneſicritus* calls by the Name of *Delta*. Strabo, 15 *B.*

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no Cauſe to repent of obeying him; that he would give an Account of this to the Magiſtrates of *Sparta*, and would, himſelf, conſider in what he could be of moſt Service to them. Upon this, they accepted *Cyratades* for their General, and went out of the Town: And *Cyratades* appointed to come the next Day to the Army, with Victims, and a Prieſt, and alſo Meat, and Drink for the Men. As ſoon as they were out of the Town, *Anaxibius* cauſed the Gates to be ſhut, and public Notice to be given, that, if any of the Soldiers were found within the Walls, they ſhould be ſold for Slaves. The next Day, *Cyratades* came to the Army with the Victims, and the Prieſt: He was followed by twenty Men, loaded with Barley-Meal, and as many, with Wine; three more brought as many Olives, another, as much Garlick, and a third, as many Onions as he could carry; and, having ordered theſe Things to be ſet down, as if he intended to [1] divide them among the Troops, he offered Sacrifice.

HERE *Xenophon* ſent for *Cleander*, and de-

[1] Ὡς ἐπὶ Δάσμευσιν. Δάσμευσις, Διάιρεσις. *Heſychius.*

desired him to procure Liberty for him to go into the Town, and embark at *Byzantium*. When *Cleander* came, he said, it is with great Difficulty that I have prevailed; for *Anaxibius* says it is not proper that the Soldiers should be near the Town, and *Xenophon* within; the Inhabitants being engaged in Factions, and Animosities: However, he says, you may come in, if you propose to sail with him. Upon which, *Xenophon* took Leave of the Soldiers, and went into the Town with *Cleander*. BOOK VII.

THE Victims not being favourable to *Cyratades* the first Day he distributed nothing to the Soldiers. The next, both the Victims and *Cyratades* with a Garland upon his Head, preparing to offer Sacrifice, stood before the Altar, when *Timasion* the *Dardanian*, *Neon* the *Asinian*, and *Cleanor*, the *Orchomenian*, came to *Cyratades*, and forbad him to offer Sacrifice, adding, that, unless he gave the Provisions to the Army he should not command it. Upon this, he ordered them to be distributed; but the Provisions falling considerably short of one Day's Subsist-

BOOK VII.

ance for every Man, he renounced the Generalſhip, and, taking the Victims, departed.

HEREUPON, *Neon* the *Aſinian*, *Phryniſcus* of *Achaia*, and *Timaſion* of *Dardanus*, who ſtaid with the Army, led them into ſome Villages of the *Thracians*, that lay near *Byzantium*, where they encamped. Here, the Generals diſagreed, *Cleanor*, and *Phryniſcus* being deſirous to carry the Army to *Seuthes* (for he had gained them, by making a Preſent of a Horſe, to one, and of a Woman, to the other) and *Neon*, to the *Cherſoneſus*, upon this Preſumption, that, if they came into the Dominions of the *Lacedæmonians*, he ſhould have the ſole Command. *Timaſion* wanted to go back into *Aſia*, expecting, by this Means, to return Home. The Soldiers were for this: But, much Time being ſpent in this Conteſt, many of the Soldiers ſold their Arms in the Country, and ſailed away, as they could; others gave them to the Country-People, and ſettled in the Cities, mingling with the Inhabitants. *Anaxibius* was pleaſed to hear the Army was diſbanding, for he con-

concluded this would be moſt acceptable to *Pharnabaſus*. BOOK VII.

WHILE [k] *Anaxibius* was upon his Voyage from *Byzantium*, *Ariſtarchus* met him at *Cyzicus*. He was ſent to ſucceed *Cleander*, as Governor of *Byzantium*. He informed *Anaxibius* that *Polus* was upon the Point of coming into the *Helleſpont*, to ſucceed him in the Command of the Fleet: And *Anaxibius* ordered *Ariſtarchus* to ſell all the Soldiers of *Cyrus*, whom he found in *Byzantium*. As for *Cleander*, he had ſold none of them, but, out of Compaſſion, took Care of thoſe who were Sick, and obliged the Inhabitants to receive them into their Houſes: But, *Ariſtarchus*,

[k] Ἀποπλέοντι δὲ Ἀναξιβίῳ ἐκ Βυζαντίου συναντᾷ Ἀρίσαρχος ἐν Κυζίκῳ. I was ſurprized to find *Hutchinſon* tranſlate this Paſſage, *At Anaxibio è Byzantio ſolventi obviam venit apud Cyzicum Ariſtarchus*, and *Leunclavius*, *quum autem Byzantio ſolveret*, *obviam ei venit apud Cyzicum Ariſtarchus*: How could *Ariſtarchus* meet *Anaxibius* at *Cyzicus*, as the latter was weighing Anchor from *Byzantium*? They have tranſlated it, as if our Author had ſaid ἀναγομένῳ δὲ Ἀναξιβίῳ. It is very plain the Senſe is, that *Ariſtarchus*, who was ſent to ſucceed *Cleander*, met *Anaxibius* at *Cyzicus*, which every Body knows is a City upon the *Propontis*, not far from the *Helleſpont*, through which *Anaxibius* was to ſail in his Return Home. It is with Pleaſure I do Juſtice to *d'Ablancourt*, upon this Occaſion; he has ſaid very properly, *comme il fut parti de Byzance, & arrivé à Cyzique, il rencontra Ariſtarque*.

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ſtarchus, as ſoon as he arrived, ſold no leſs than four hundred of them. When *Anaxibius* came to [l] *Parium*, he ſent to *Pharnabazus* in Purſuance of their Agreement; but he, finding that *Ariſtarchus* was going to *Byzantium*, in Quality of Governor, and that *Anaxibius* was no longer Admiral, neglected him, and made the ſame Terms with *Ariſtarchus* concerning the Army of *Cyrus*, that he had before made with *Anaxibius*.

UPON this, *Anaxibius*, calling *Xenophon* to him, deſired, by all Means, that he would ſet ſail for the Army immediately, and both keep them in a Body, and draw together as many as he could of thoſe who were diſperſed, then leading them to [m] *Perinthus*, tranſport them forthwith into *Aſia*. He ordered, at the ſame Time, a Thirty-Oar Galley to attend him, and not only gave him a Letter, but ſent

[l] Παραπλεύσας εἰς Πάριον. *Parium* was a Town upon the *Propontis* ſituated between *Cyzicus* and the *Helleſpont*; it was built, according to *Strabo*, by the Inhabitants of the Iſland of *Paros*: the ſame Author adds, that in *Parium* there was an Altar, the Sides of which were 600 Feet in Length.

Strabo, 10 *B.*

[m] Εἰς Πέρινθον. *Perinthus* was a City of *Thrace* in the Neighbourhood of *Byzantium*, it was otherwiſe called *Heraclea*; *Harduin* ſays it is now called *Pantiro*.

Pl. N. H. 4 *B. c.* 18.

sent an Express with him, to let the *Perinthians* know that they were immediately to furnish *Xenophon* with Horses to carry him to the Army. *Xenophon* crossed the *Propontis*, and arrived at the Army. He was received by the Soldiers with great Joy, who followed him chearfully, in Hopes of passing over from *Thrace* into *Asia*. BOOK VII.

[n] *SEUTHES*, hearing that *Xenophon* was returned, sent *Medosades* to him by Sea, to desire he would bring the Army to him, promising whatever he thought most effectual to persuade him. *Xenophon* answered that it was not possible for any Thing of this Kind to be done: Whereupon the other went away. When the *Greeks* came to *Perinthus*, *Neon* drew off his Forces, and encamped apart with about eight hundred Men; the rest remained together under the Walls of the Town.

AFTER this, *Xenophon* was employed in getting Ships to transport the Troops into *Asia*; when *Aristarchus* the Governor, arriv-

[n] Σεύθης. See note [b], page 83, upon the sixth Book.

BOOK VII. arriving from *Byzantium* with two Galleys, at the Desire of *Pharnabasus*, forbad the Masters of the Ships to transport them, and, going to the Army, commanded the Soldiers not to go over into *Asia*. *Xenophon* told him that *Anaxibius* had ordered it, and, says he, *He sent me hither for that Purpose*. Upon which *Aristarchus* replied, *Anaxibius is not Admiral, and I am Governor here; and, if I take any of you attempting to go over, I'll throw them into the Sea.* Having said this, he went into the Town. The next Day, he sent for the Generals, and Captains. And, when they came near the Walls, *Xenophon* had Notice given him, that, if he went into the Town, he should be apprehended, and either suffer some Punishment there, or be delivered even to *Pharnabasus*. When he heard this, he sent them on before, saying, he had a Mind to offer Sacrifice; and returning, he sacrificed in order to know whether the Gods would allow him to endeavour to carry the Army to *Scuthes*: For he saw, that it was neither safe to pass over into *Asia*, since the Person, who would oppose it, had Galleys at his Command; neither

was

was he willing to ſhut himſelf up in the *Cherſoneſus*, and expoſe the Army to a general Scarcity, where, beſides the Want of Proviſions, they would be under a Neceſſity of obeying the Governor of the Place. BOOK VII.

WHILE *Xenophon* was thus employed, the Generals, and Captains came from *Ariſtarchus*, and brought Word that he had ſent them away, for the preſent, but had ordered them to come back to him in the Evening. This made the Treachery ſtill more manifeſt: *Xenophon* therefore, finding the Sacrifices promiſed Security both to himſelf, and the Army, in going to *Seuthes* took with him *Polycrates* the *Athenian*, one of the Captains, and, from each of the Generals, except *Neon*, a Perſon in whom they confided; and went, that Night, to the Army of *Seuthes*, which lay at the Diſtance of ſixty Stadia. When they drew near to it, he found ſeveral Fires, but nobody near them, which made him at firſt, conclude that *Seuthes* had decamped; but, hearing a Noiſe, and the Men calling out to one another, he underſtood that *Seuthes* had,

for

BOOK VII.

for this Reaſon, ordered Fires to be made before his Night-Guards, that they, being in the Dark, might not be ſeen, neither might it be known where they were; while thoſe, who approached the Camp, could not be concealed, but were diſcovered by the Light. Obſerving this, he ſent the Interpreter, whom he happened to have with him, and ordered him to acquaint *Seuthes* that *Xenophon* was there, and deſired a Conference with him. They aſked whether it was *Xenophon* the *Athenian*, one of the Army; and, upon his ſaying it was he, they returned with great Alacrity, and, preſently after, about two hundred Targeteers appeared, who conducted *Xenophon*, and his Company to *Seuthes*. They found him in a [o] Caſtle very much upon his Guard, and, round the Caſtle, ſtood Horſes ready bridled: For, living in continual Fear, he fed his Horſes in the Day-Time, and ſtood upon his Guard all Night. It was reported that, formerly, [p] *Teres*, the Anceſtor of this Man, having entered this Country with

[o] Ἐν τύρσει. Τύρσις, Πύργος. *Heſychius.*

[p] Τήρης ὁ τούτου πρόγονος. This *Teres* was the Father of *Sitalces*, who was Uncle to *Seuthes*; ſee note [b], page 83, upon the ſixth Book.

with a conſiderable Army, loſt great Numbers of his Men, and was ſtripped of his Baggage by the Inhabitants: They are called *Thynians*, and, of all People, are ſaid to be the moſt dangerous Enemies in the Night. BOOK VII.

WHEN they were near the Caſtle, *Seuthes* ordered *Xenophon* to come in with any two of his Company: As ſoon as they were entered, they firſt ſaluted each other, and, according to the *Thracian* Cuſtom, drank to one another in Horns full of Wine, (*Medoſades* being preſent, who was the Ambaſſador of *Seuthes* upon all Occaſions) then *Xenophon* began to ſpeak; *You ſent* Medoſades *to me*, O Seuthes! *firſt to* Chalcedon, *to deſire I would co-operate with you in getting the Army tranſported out of* Aſia; *and promiſed, if I effected it, to return the Obligation as* Medoſades *informed me.* Having ſaid this, he aſked *Medoſades* if it was true, who owned it. Then *Xenophon* went on, *After I arrived at the Army from* Parium, Medoſades *came to me again, and aſſured me, if I brought the Army to you, that you would not only treat me as a Friend, and a Brother, in*

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other Reſpects, but that you would deliver up to me thoſe maritime Towns, of which you are in Poſſeſſion. After this, he again aſked *Medoſades* if he ſaid ſo, who owned that alſo. *Then ſaid* Xenophon, *let* Seuthes *know the Anſwer I made to you at* Chalcedon. *You anſwered firſt that the Army had reſolved to go over to* Byzantium, *and, therefore, there was no Reaſon to give any Thing, either to you, or to any other Perſon, upon that Account: You added that, as ſoon as you had croſſed the Sea, you deſigned to leave the Army, which happened accordingly. What,* ſays *Xenophon, did I ſay when you came to* [q] Selymbria? *You ſaid that what I propoſed was impracticable, becauſe the Army had determined to go to* Perinthus, *in order to paſs over in* Aſia. *Here I am then,* ſaid *Xenophon, with* Phryniſcus, *one of the* Generals, *and* Polycrates, *one of the* Captains; *and, without, are thoſe who are moſt confided in by each of the* Generals, *except* Neon, *the* Lacedæmonian: *And, if you deſire that our Stipulation ſhould receive a greater Sanction, let them alſo be called in. Do you, therefore,* Poly-

[q] Εν Σηλυμβρίᾳ. *Selymbria* was a Town of *Thrace* upon the *Propontis*, near *Perinthus*. *Strabo* ſays that βρία, in the *Thracian* Language, ſignifies a Town. *Leunclavius* ſays it is now called, both by the *Turks*, and *Greeks*, *Silyurian*. Strabo, 7 B.

Polycrates! *go to them, and tell them, from me, that I desire they would leave their Arms without, and do you leave your Sword there also, and come in.*

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SEUTHES, hearing this, said, he should distrust no *Athenian*; for he knew them to be [r] related to him, and looked upon them, as his affectionate Friends. When all proper Persons were come in, first *Xenophon* asked *Seuthes* what Use he proposed to make of the Army? To this he answered: Mæsades *was my Father, under whose Government were the* Malandeptans, *the* Thynians, *and the* Thranipsans. *My Father, being driven out of this Country, when*

[r] Καὶ γὰρ ὅτι συγγενὴς εἴην ἐιδέναι. *Hutchinson*, upon this Occasion, quotes a Passage out of the second Book of *Thucydides*, where that Author says that *Perdiccas* gave his Sister *Stratonice* in Marriage to *Seuthes*: I own, I do not understand how *Seuthes* could be said to be related to the *Athenians* by marrying a Daughter of a King of *Macedon*. We find in another Part of the second Book of *Thucydides*, that the *Athenians* entered into an Alliance with *Sitalces*, and made his Son *Sadocus* a Citizen of *Athens*, but this, I own, does not seem to support what *Seuthes* says of their Relation: It is certain that *Teres*, the Father to *Sitalces*, was not the Person, who married *Procne*, the Daughter of *Pandion*, the Son of *Erechtheus*, King of *Athens*, since *Thucydides* expresly tells us that the Name of the latter was *Tereus*, and that they were not of the same Part of *Thrace*; so that *Seuthes* could not ground his Relation to the *Athenians* upon the Marriage of *Tereus* with *Procne*.

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when the Affairs of the Odryſians *declined, died of Sickneſs, and I, being then an Orphan, was brought up at the Court of* Medocus, *the preſent King. When I grew up, I could not bear to ſubſiſt upon another Man's Liberality. As I was ſitting, therefore, by him, I begged of him to give me as many Troops as he could ſpare, that, if poſſible, I might take Revenge on thoſe who had expelled our Family, and be no longer, like a Dog, ſupported at his Table. Upon this, he gave me thoſe Forces both of Horſe, and of Foot, which you ſhall ſee, as ſoon as it is Day; and I now ſubſiſt by plundering my paternal Country with theſe Troops: To which if you join your Forces, I have Reaſon to believe, that, with the Aſſiſtance of the Gods, I ſhall eaſily recover my Kingdom. This is what I deſire at your Hands.*

LET us know then, ſays *Xenophon, what you have in your Power to give to the Army, the Captains, and the Generals, if we come; to the End that theſe may make their Report.* He promiſed to every common Soldier a Cyzicene, two to the Captains, and four to the Generals; with as much Land, as they deſired, beſides Yokes of Oxen, and

a walled Town near the Sea. *If*, ſays *Xenophon*, *I endeavour to effect what you deſire, but am prevented by the Fear that may be entertained of the* Lacedæmonians, *will you receive into your Country any, who ſhall be deſirous to come to you?* He anſwered, *Not only that, but I will treat them like Brothers, give them a Place at my Table, and make them Partakers of every Thing we ſhall conquer: To you,* Xenophon! *I will give my Daughter, and if you have one, I will buy her, according to the* Thracian *Cuſtom, and give you* Biſanthe, *for your Habitation, which is the handſomeſt Town, belonging to me near the Sea.* BOOK VII.

AFTER they heard this, they exchanged Hands, and went away; and arriving at the Camp before Day, each of them made his Report to thoſe who ſent them. As ſoon as it was light, *Ariſtarchus* ſent again for the Generals, and Captains to come to him, but they declined it, and determined, inſtead of going to *Ariſtarchus*, to call the Army together: And all the Soldiers aſſembled, beſides thoſe belonging to *Neon*; who encamped at the Diſtance of about ten Stadia from the reſt.

BOOK VII. reſt. When they were aſſembled, *Xenophon* roſe up, and ſpoke as follows:

GENTLEMEN! Ariſtarchus, *with his Galleys, hinders us from ſailing to the Place we propoſed: So that it is not ſafe for us to embark. He would have us force our Way, over the holy Mountain, into the* Cherſoneſus: *If we gain that Paſs, and arrive there, he ſays he will neither ſell any more of you, as he did in* Byzantium, *nor deceive you any longer; but that you will then be the better intitled to receive Pay. He promiſes alſo that he will no longer ſuffer us, as he does now, to want Proviſions. Thus* Ariſtarchus *ſays. On the other Side,* Seuthes *engages that, if you go to him, you ſhall find your Account in it. Conſider, therefore, whether you will deliberate upon this Matter, while you ſtay here, or after you are returned to the Place, where you may ſupply yourſelves with Proviſions. My Opinion is, ſince we have neither Money to purchaſe what we want, nor are ſuffered to ſupply ourſelves without it, that we return to the Villages, where the Inhabitants, being weaker than we are, do not oppoſe it, and where, after we are ſupplied with what is neceſſary, and have heard in what*

what Service each of them propoſe to employ us, we may chuſe that Meaſure, which ſhall appear moſt to our Advantage. Whoever, therefore, is of this Opinion, let him hold up his Hand. And they all held up their Hands. Go then, continued he, and get your Baggage ready, and, when the Order is given, follow your Leader. BOOK VII.

AFTER this, *Xenophon* put himſelf at their Head, and they followed him. But *Neon*, together with ſome other Perſons ſent by *Ariſtarchus*, would have perſuaded them to turn back: However, they regarded them not. When they had marched about thirty Stadia, *Seuthes* met them. As ſoon as *Xenophon* ſaw him, he deſired he would draw near, that as many of the Army, as poſſible, might hear what he had to propoſe for their Advantage. When he came up, *Xenophon* ſaid; *We are marching to ſome Place, where the Army may find Proviſions, and where, after we have heard what you, and the* Lacedæmonians *have to propoſe to us, we ſhall be determined by that, which appears moſt to our Advantage. If, therefore, you will conduct us to ſome Place, where there is great Abundance,*

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dance, we ſhall look upon ourſelves under the ſame Obligation to you, as if you entertained us yourſelf. *Seuthes* anſwered, *I know where there are many Villages that lie together, and are well ſupplied with all Sorts of Proviſions; they are ſo near, that you may march thither, with Eaſe, before Dinner.* Lead the Way therefore, ſaid *Xenophon.* The Army being arrived in the Villages in the [s] Afternoon, the Soldiers aſſembled, and *Seuthes* ſpoke to them in the following Manner; *Gentlemen! I deſire you will aſſiſt me with your Arms; and I promiſe to each of you a* [t] *Cizycene, for your monthly Pay, and to the Captains, and Generals, what is cuſtomary. Beſides this, I will do Honour to every Man, who ſhall deſerve it. As to Meat and Drink, you ſhall ſupply yourſelves with both, as you do now, out of the Country. But, I muſt inſiſt upon retaining the Booty, that, by ſelling it, I may provide for your Pay. We ourſelves ſhall be ſufficient to purſue, and diſcover thoſe of the Enemy, who fly, and ſeek to conceal themſelves, and, with your Aſſiſtance, we will endeavour to overcome thoſe who reſiſt.* *Xenophon* then aſked him how far from the

[s] Επεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο εἰς αὐτὰς τῆς δείλης. See note [b], page 84, upon the firſt Book.

[t] Κυζικηνὸν. See note [l], page 22, upon the firſt Book.

the Sea he propoſed the Army ſhould follow him? He anſwered, never more than ſeven Days March, and often leſs. BOOK VII.

AFTER that, every Man, who deſired to offer any Thing, had Liberty to ſpeak, and ſeveral of them agreed that the Propoſals of *Seuthes* were very advantageous; for, it being now Winter, it was neither poſſible for thoſe who deſired it, to ſail home, not for the Army to ſubſiſt in the Territories of their Friends, if they were to pay for every Thing they had. They conſidered alſo that it would be ſafer for them to remain, and find Subſiſtance, in an Enemy's Country, jointly with *Seuthes*, than by themſelves; and that, if, while they were in Poſſeſſion of ſo many Advantages, they alſo received Pay, it would be a Piece of good Fortune they had no Reaſon to expect. Then *Xenophon* ſaid; *If any one has any Thing to ſay againſt this, let him ſpeak, if not,* "*let him give his Vote for*

" Επιψηφιζέσθω ταῦτα. I have followed the Manuſcript quoted by *Hutchinſon*, rather than his Conjecture, though I think ἐπιψηφιζέσθε, in him, is much better than ἐπιψηφίζετε in *Leunclavius*; but ἐπιψηφιζέσθω ſeems to me to anſwer better to λεγέτω, that immediately precedes it.

BOOK VII. *for it*; and, there being no Oppoſition, they gave their Votes for it, and it was reſolved accordingly; and *Xenophon* immediately told *Seuthes*, they would enter into his Service.

AFTER that, the Soldiers encamped in their Ranks; while the Generals, and Captains were invited by *Seuthes* to ſup with him at his Quarters in a neighbouring Village. When they came to the Door, one *Heraclides* of *Maronea* addreſſed himſelf to thoſe he thought in a Capacity of making Preſents to *Seuthes*, and firſt to ſome *Parian* Deputies, who were there, being ſent to eſtabliſh a Friendſhip with *Medocus*, King of the *Odryſians*, and had brought Preſents both for him, and his Queen: To theſe he ſaid, that *Medocus* lived up in the Country, twelve Days Journey from the Sea; and that *Seuthes*, now he had taken this Army into his Service, would be Maſter of the Sea-Coaſt: *Being therefore your Neighbour*, ſays he, *it will be very much in his Power to do you both Good, and Harm: So that if you are wiſe, you will make a Preſent to him of what you have brought, which will be laid*

out

out much more to your Advantage, than if you give it to Medocus, *who lives at ſo great a Diſtance from you:* By this Means he prevailed upon them. Afterwards, he came to *Timaſion* of *Dardanus*, hearing he had Cups, and [x] *Perſian* Carpets, and told him it was the Cuſtom for thoſe, who were invited to Supper by *Seuthes*, to make him Preſents; adding, that, if he becomes conſiderable in this Country, he will be able both to reſtore you to yours, and to enrich you, when you are there. In this Manner he [y] procured for *Seuthes*, addreſſing himſelf to each of them. When he came to *Xenophon*, he ſaid, *You are not only of the moſt conſiderable City, but are, yourſelf, in the greateſt Reputation with* Seuthes, *and may, poſſibly deſire to be Maſter of ſome Place of Strength with Lands, in theſe Parts, as others of your Countrymen are: It is therefore worth your while to honour*

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[x] Τάπιδας Βαρβαρικάς. *Perſian* Carpets have always been famous for their Beauty, for which Reaſon, and becauſe theſe Carpets were Part of the Spoils taken by the *Greeks* from the *Perſians*, I have ventured to call them *Perſian* Carpets, rather than *Barbaric* after *Milton*,

Where the gorgeous Eaſt, *with richeſt Hand,*
Show'rs on her Kings barbaric *Pearl, and Gold.* Paradiſe Loſt, 2 *B.*

[y] Τοιαῦτα προυμνᾶτο. Προμνώμενοι, προμνηστεύομενοι. *Heſychius.* *D'Ablancourt* has left it out.

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honour Seuthes *in the moſt magnificent Manner. I give you this Advice, becauſe I wiſh you well; for I am ſatisfied the more your Preſents exceed thoſe of your Companions, the more the Advantages you will receive from* Seuthes, *will exceed theirs.* When *Xenophon* heard this, he was in great Perplexity; for he had brought with him, from *Parium*, only one Servant, and juſt Money enough for his Journey.

THEN the moſt conſiderable of the *Thracians*, who were preſent, together with the *Greek* Generals, and Captains, and all the Deputies of Towns, who were there, went in to Supper; at which they placed themſelves in a Ring. After that, every one of the Gueſts had a Tripod brought him: Theſe were about twenty in Number, full of Meat cut in Pieces, and large leavened Loaves were ſkewered to the Meat. The [z] Diſhes were always

[z] Μάλιστα δὲ αἱ τράπεζαι κατὰ τὰς ξένας αἰὶ ἐτίθεντο. *Leunclavius*, and *Hutchinſon* have very properly, I think, rendered τράπεζαι in this Place, *Feaſts*; to ſupport which, they quote a Paſſage out of *Julius Pollux*, where he ſays that τράπεζαι were alſo called *the Victuals*, that were placed upon the Tables. There is a Paſſage in *Athenæus*, by which it appears the Word was underſtood in that Senſe by every Body πάντων τραπεζῶν καλλίω ἐπὶ

Julius Pollux, 6 *B. Sect.* 84. Athenæus 11.

always placed before the Strangers preferably to the reſt of the Company; for that was their Cuſtom. *Seuthes* then ſet the Example of what follows; he took the Loaves that lay before him, and, breaking them into ſmall Pieces, threw them about to thoſe he thought proper: He did the ſame by the Meat, leaving no more for himſelf than what ſerved for a Taſte. The Reſt, before whom the Meat was ſerved, did the ſame Thing. There was an *Arcadian* in Company, whoſe Name was *Ariſtus*, a great Eater: This Man, inſtead of employing his Time in throwing about the Victuals, took a Loaf of three [a] Chœnixes in his Hand, and, laying ſome Meat upon his Knees, eat his Supper. In the mean Time, they carried about Horns of Wine, and every body took one: When the Cup-bearer brought the Horn to *Ariſtus*, he, ſeeing *Xenophon* had done Supper, ſaid, *Go, give it to him, he is at Leiſure; I am not ſo yet.* When *Seuthes* heard him ſpeak, he aſked the

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τὰς παραθέσεις ταύτας. From hence I imagine the *Latins* took their *ſecunda menſa*, & *altera menſa*, for their *ſecond Courſe*.

Cicero *Ep.* Horace, *4 B. Od.* 5.

[a] Τριχοίνικον ἄρτον. See note [a], page 58, upon the firſt Book.

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him; for he could ſpeak *Greek*: Upon this, there was great laughing.

THE [b] Cup going round, a *Thracian* entered, leading in a white Horſe, and, taking a Horn full of Wine, Seuthes! ſays he, *I drink to you, and make you a Preſent of this Horſe, with which you may take any one you purſue, and, in a Retreat, you will have no Reaſon to fear the Enemy.* Another brought a Boy, which he, in the ſame Manner, preſented, drinking to him, and another, Clothes, for his Wife. *Timaſion*, drinking to him, made him a Preſent of a ſilver Cup, and a Carpet worth ten [c] Mines. Then one *Gneſippus*, an *Athenian*, roſe up, and ſaid, *There was a very good old Cuſtom, which ordains that thoſe, who have any Thing, ſhall make Preſents to the King, to ſhew their Reſpect; but that the Kings ſhall make Preſents to thoſe, who have nothing. Let this Cuſtom be obſerved*, ſays he, *that I alſo may have ſomething to preſent you with, and ſhew my Re-*

ſpect.

[b] Ἐπεὶ δὲ περιέχωρει ὁ πότος. Ποτὸς μὲν τὸ πινόμενον, πότος δὲ τὸ συμπόσιον. *Suidas.*

[c] Ἀξίαν δέκα μνῶν. See note [m], page 9, upon the firſt Book.

ſpect. *Xenophon* was at a loſs what to do; for he had the Honour done him to be placed next to *Seuthes*: And *Heraclides* had ordered the Cup-bearer to give him the Horn. However, he ſtood up boldly (for by this Time he had drank [d] more than uſual) and, taking the Horn, ſaid, O Seuthes! *I preſent you both with myſelf, and with theſe my Companions, as your faithful Friends: I am confident none of them will refuſe the Condition, but all contend with me in their Zeal for your Service. Here they now are, with a View of aſking no other Favour* [e] *of you, but to undertake Labours, and Dangers for your Sake. By whoſe Aſſiſtance, if the Gods are favourable, you may become Maſter of a large Tract of Country, by recovering that Part of it, which belonged to your paternal Kingdom, and conquering the Reſt: By their Aſſiſtance alſo, you will make yourſelf Maſter of many Horſes, and of many Men and beautiful Women, whom you need not take away by Force; on the contrary, they will come, and offer themſelves to you with Preſents in their Hands.* Upon this, *Seuthes* got up, and pledged *Xenophon*, pouring

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[d] Ὑποπεπωκώς. Ἀντὶ τοῦ μεθύσκεσθαι. *Suidas.*

[e] Προσέμενοι. Παροῦσιται, ἀρίσκεται, προσδίχεται, ἡδέως λαμβάνει. *Heſychius.*

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ing [f] what remained in the Horn upon the Perſon who ſat next to him. After this, ſome *Ceraſuntæans* came in: Theſe ſounded a Charge with Pipes, and Trumpets made of raw Hides, keeping Time, as if they played upon the [g] Magade. Upon this, *Seuthes* himſelf got up, and ſhouted in a warlike Manner, then with great Agility, ſprung out of the Place where he ſtood, imitating a Man, who avoids a Dart. There came in alſo Buffoons.

WHEN it was about Sunſet, the *Greeks* roſe up, and ſaid it was Time to place the Guards for the Night, and give the Word. At the ſame Time, they deſired *Seuthes* to give Orders that none of the *Thracians* might come into the *Greek* Camp in the Night; *for*, ſaid they, *ſome of*

[f] Συγκατεσκίδασε. *Suidas*, upon the Word καταασκιδάζειν, ſays it was a Cuſtom among the *Thracians*, when they had drunk as much Wine as they could, to pour the reſt upon the Clothes of the Company, for which he quotes *Plato*; this, he ſays, they called καταασκιδαζειν. It was neceſſary juſt to take Notice of this ridiculous Cuſtom, in Order to explain this Paſſage of *Xenophon*.

Athenæus 4 *B.* Strabo, 10 *B.*

[g] Οιον μαγάδι. This muſical Inſtrument is ſaid to have been a Kind of Flute. *Strabo* reckons it among thoſe, whoſe Names were taken from the *Barbarians*. It was probably an Inſtrument of War.

of that Nation are our Enemies, though you are our Friends. As they went out *Seuthes* got up, ſhewing no Signs of being drunk, and going out alſo, he called the Generals to him, and ſaid; *Gentlemen! the Enemy, as yet, knows nothing of our Alliance; if, therefore, we fall upon them, before they are, either upon their Guard againſt a Surpriſe, or prepared for their Defence, it will be the moſt effectual Means of gaining great Booty, and taking many Priſoners.* The Generals were of the ſame Opinion, and deſired him to lead them. Then *Seuthes* ſaid, *Do you make yourſelves ready, and ſtay for me, and, when it is Time, I will come back to you; and, taking the Targeteers and you with me, with the Aſſiſtance of the Gods, I will lead you againſt the Enemy.* Upon this, *Xenophon* ſaid, *Conſider then, ſince we are to march by Night, whether the* Greek *Cuſtom is not preferable. In the Day-Time, either the heavy-armed Men, or the Horſe march in the Van, according to the Nature of the Ground; but, in the Night, it is always the Cuſtom, among the* Greeks, *for the ſlowеſt Corps to lead the Way. By this Means, the Army is leſs ſubject to be ſeparated, and the Men have fewer Opportunities of ſtraggling*

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without being taken Notice of; *it often happening, in the Night, that the Troops, when separated, fall upon one another, and, not being able to diſtinguiſh Friends, from Enemies, both do, and ſuffer great Damage. Seuthes* anſwered, *You ſay well, and I will conform to your Cuſtom*; *and will take Care you ſhall have Guides, ſuch as, among the Oldeſt of my People, are beſt acquainted with the Country*; *while I bring up the Rear with the Horſe*: *And if there is Occaſion, I can ſoon come up to the Front*. The *Athenians* gave the Word by Reaſon of their Alliance to *Seuthes*. After this, they went to Reſt.

WHEN it was about Mid-night, *Seuthes* came to them with the Horſe clad in their Coats of Mail, and the Targeteers with their Arms. After he had delivered the Guides to them, the heavy-armed Men marched in the Van, the Targeteers followed, and the Horſe brought up the Rear. As ſoon as it was Day, *Seuthes*, riding up to the Front, extolled the *Greek* Cuſtom: *For it has often happened to me*, ſays he, *when I have been upon a March in the Night, though with a few Troops, to have my Horſe ſeparated from the Foot*; *whereas now*,

now, at Break of Day we appear, as we ought, all together. But do you halt here, and repose yourselves, and when I have taken a View of the Country, I will come back to you. Having said this, he met with a Path, which led him to the Top of a Mountain, where, coming to a great deal of Snow, he examined the Road, to see whether there were any Foot-steps of Men, pointing either forward, or backward: And finding the Way untrodden, he returned presently, and said, *Gentlemen! our Design will succeed, God willing: We shall surprise the People: But I will lead the Way with the Horse, that, if we discover any one, he may not escape, and give Notice to the Enemy: Do you come after; and, if you are left behind, follow the Track of the Horse. After we have passed these Mountains, we shall come to a great many rich Villages.*

WHEN it was Noon, *Scuthes*, having reached the Summit of the Mountains, and taken a View of the Villages, rode back to the heavy-armed Men, and said, *I now propose to send the Horse to scour the Plain, and the Targeteers to attack the Vil-*

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AFTER this, *Seuthes*, and, with him, *Timasion*, with about forty of the *Greek* Horse, went away. Then *Xenophon* ordered those of each Company, who were under thirty Years of Age, and prepared for Expedition, to advance; and, with these, he ran forward; while *Cleanor* brought up the Rest of the *Greeks*. When they were in the Villages, *Seuthes*, riding up to *Xenophon* with about fifty Horse, said, *What you foretold, has happened: The Men are taken; but our Horse have left me, and are gone away without a Commander, some following the Pursuit one Way, some another; and I am afraid the Enemy should rally, and do us some Mischief: Some of us must also remain in the Villages, for they are full*

full of Men. *Xenophon* answered, *With the Troops I have, I will poſſeſs myſelf of the Eminences. Do you order* Cleanor *to extend his Line, in the Plain, againſt the Villages.* After they had put theſe things in Execution, they got together about one thouſand Slaves, two thouſand Oxen, and ten thouſand Head of other Cattle: And there they quartered that Night.

THE next Day, after *Seuthes* had burned all the Villages, without leaving a ſingle Houſe (in order to terrify the Reſt by letting them ſee what they were to expect, if they refuſed to ſubmit) he returned; and ſent the Booty to *Perintheus* to be ſold by *Heraclides*, that he might, by that Means, raiſe Money to pay the Soldiers. In the mean Time *Seuthes*, and the *Greeks* encamped in the Plain of the *Thynians*; but the Inhabitants left their Houſes, and fled to the Mountains.

HERE fell a great Snow, and the Cold was ſo ſevere, that the Water the Servants brought in for Supper, and the Wine in the Veſſels, were frozen, and the Noſes, and Ears of many of the

Greeks

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Greeks were parched with the Cold. This explained to us the Reaſon, that induces the *Thracians* to wear [h] Foxes Skins over their Heads and Ears, and Veſts, that not only cover their Breaſts, but their Thighs alſo,

[h] Τὰς ἀλωπεκίδας ἐπὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς φορέουσι καὶ τοῖς ὠσί.

Herodot. *in* Polyhymnia. After *Xerxes* had paſſed the *Helleſpont* with his prodigious Army, he reviewed them in the Plain of *Doriſcus*; among his Troops were *Thracians*, who, according to *Herodotus*, wore Foxes Skins upon their Heads, and whoſe Dreſs he deſcribes not unlike that of the *Thracians*, with whom *Xenophon* was acquainted: Whether theſe *Thracians* wore Foxes Skins upon their Heads to preſerve them from the Cold, as our Author ſeems to think, or whether they wore them by way of Armour, and as a Diſtinction in War, I ſhall not determine; but we find that many Nations, inhabiting the warmeſt Climates, wore the Skins of ſeveral Beaſts upon their Heads, when they went to War; upon thoſe Occaſions, the upper Jaw, or Forehead of the Animal was fixed to the Top of their Heads,

Ib. I ſuppoſe, to give them a fierce Look: *Herodotus* tells us, that, in the ſame Army, the *Indians*, whom he calls the *Aſiatic Ethiopians*, οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ασίης Αἰθίοπες, wore, upon their Heads, the Skins of Horſes Heads, with the Mane flowing, and the Ears erect. I cannot help mentioning,

Diod. Sic. 1 *B.* upon this Occaſion, a Paſſage of *Diodorus Siculus*, becauſe it ſhews the Origin of a very great Folly committed by a very wiſe People, I mean the Worſhip of *Anubis* by the *Egyptians*; he tells us that *Anubis*, and *Macedon*, two Sons of *Oſiris*, attended him in his Expedition to the *Indies*, and that their Armour was taken from Animals, that bore ſome Reſemblance to their Fortitude, *Anubis* wearing the Skin of a Dog, and *Macedon* that of a Wolf; for which Reaſon, he ſays, theſe Animals were worſhipped by the *Egyptians*. The *Roman Signifers*, upon *Trajan*'s Pillar, have moſt of them their Heads, and Shoulders covered with the Skins of Lions, ſomething like *Aventinus* in *Virgil*,

Virgil, 7 *B.*

Ipſe pedes tegmen torquens immane leonis
Terribili impexum ſetâ cum dentibus albis
Indutus capiti ———

alſo, with Caſſocks reaching down to their Feet, when they ride, inſtead of Cloaks. *Seuthes* ſent ſome of the Priſoners to the Mountains, to acquaint the Inhabitants that, if they did not come down, and, returning to their Habitations, ſubmit to him, he would burn their Villages alſo, together with their Corn, and then they muſt periſh with Hunger. Upon this, the Women, and Children, with the old Men, came down, but the younger Sort encamped in the Villages under the Mountain: Which when *Seuthes* obſerved, he deſired *Xenophon* to take with him the youngeſt of the heavy-armed Men, and follow him; and, leaving their Camp in the Night, they arrived by Break of Day at the Villages: But the greateſt Part of the Inhabitants quitted them; for the Mountain was near. However, *Seuthes* ordered all they took to be pierced with Darts.

THERE was preſent an *Olynthian*, his Name *Epiſthenes*, who was a Lover of Boys: This Man, ſeeing a handſome Boy juſt in his Bloom, with a Buckler in his Hand, going to be put to Death, ran to

Xeno-

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Xenophon, and begged of him to intercede for ſo beautiful a Youth. Upon this, *Xenophon* went to *Seuthes*, and deſired he would not put the Boy to Death, acquainting him, at the ſame Time, with the Character of *Epiſthenes*, and that he once raiſed a Company, in which he conſidered nothing but the Beauty of his Men; at the Head of whom he always behaved himſelf with Bravery. Hereupon, *Seuthes* ſaid, *O* Epiſthenes! *are you willing to die for this Boy?* The other, ſtretching out his Neck, anſwered, *Strike, if the Boy commands; and will think himſelf obliged to me.* *Seuthes* then aſked the Boy whether he ſhould ſtrike *Epiſthenes*, inſtead of him. This the Boy would not ſuffer, but begged he would kill neither. Upon this, *Epiſthenes*, embracing the Boy, ſaid, *Now* Seuthes! *you muſt contend with me for him; for I will not part with the Boy.* This made *Seuthes* laugh; who, leaving this Subject, thought proper they ſhould encamp where they were, to the End the People, who had fled to the Mountains, might not be ſubſiſted out of theſe Villages. So he, deſcending a little Way into the Plain, encamped there;

and *Xenophon*, with the choſen Men, quartered in the Village, that lay neareſt the Foot of the Hill, and the reſt of the *Greeks*, not far from him, among thoſe they call the Mountain *Thracians*. BOOK VII.

A few Days after, the *Thracians*, coming down from the Mountains to *Seuthes*, treated concerning Hoſtages, and a Peace. Hereupon, *Xenophon* went to him, and let him know that the Poſt they were in, was very diſadvantageous, that the Enemy was not far off, and that he had rather encamp abroad in any other Place, than in a Strait, where they were in Danger of being deſtroyed: But *Seuthes* bid him fear nothing, and ſhewed him their Hoſtages, then in his Cuſtody. Some of the *Thracians*, coming down from the Mountain, beſought *Xenophon* alſo to aſſiſt them in obtaining a Peace. He promiſed his Aſſiſtance, and encouraged them with this Aſſurance, that, if they ſubmitted to *Seuthes*, they had nothing to fear. But they, it ſeems, were Spies ſent to amuſe them with theſe Propoſals.

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THIS paſſed in the Day-Time: The following Night, the *Thynians* came down from the Mountain, and attacked them: Their Leaders were the Maſters of every Houſe, it being difficult for any other to find the Houſes in the dark; becauſe they were ſurrounded with great Paliſades to ſecure the Cattle. When they came to the Door of each Habitation, ſome threw in Darts, others Clubs, which they carried, with a Deſign, as they ſaid of breaking off the Points of the Pikes; and ſome were employed in ſetting Fire to the Houſes: Theſe called out to *Xenophon* by Name, to come out and meet his Fate, threatening, if he refuſed, to burn him in the Houſe.

BY this Time, the Fire came through the Roof, and *Xenophon* and his Men were within, with their Corſlets on, their Shields, and Swords in their Hands, and their Helmets upon their Heads: When *Silanus Macſtius*, a Youth of eighteen Years of Age, gave the Signal by ſounding a Trumpet: Upon which, the Reſt alſo, at once, ruſhed out of the other Houſes with their Swords drawn. Whereupon,

upon, the *Thracians* fled, covering their Backs with their Bucklers, according to their Cuſtom; and ſome of them, endeavouring to leap over the Paliſades, were taken hanging on them, their Bucklers being ſet faſt; others, miſſing the Way out, were killed, and the *Greeks* purſued them out of the Village. However, a Party of the *Thymians* coming back in the Dark, threw Darts at ſome of the *Greeks*, as they ran by a Houſe that was on Fire, taking their Aim from an obſcure Place at thoſe who were in the Light, and wounded *Hieronymus*, *Enodias*, and *Theagenes*, a *Locrian*, all Captains; but nobody was killed, though ſome had their Clothes, and Baggage burned. *Seuthes* came to their Relief with ſeven Horſe, the firſt he met, bringing with him a *Thracian* Trumpeter, who, from the Time the other found they were attacked, and ſet out to relieve them, continued ſounding 'till the Action was over; which did not a little contribute to terrify the Enemy: When he came, he embraced the *Greeks*, ſaying, he expected to find a great Number of them ſlain. BOOK VII.

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AFTER this, *Xenophon* desired *Seuthes* to deliver to him the Hostages, and march up to the Mountain with him, if he thought proper: If not, that he would leave it to his Conduct. The next Day, therefore, *Seuthes* delivered to him the Hostages, who were elderly Men, the most considerable, as they said, of the Mountain *Thracians*, and he himself set out with his own Forces. By this Time, the Army of *Seuthes* was encreased to three Times the Number it before consisted of; for many of the *Odrysians*, being informed of what *Seuthes* was doing, came down to his Assistance. When the *Thynians* saw, from the Mountain, great Numbers of heavy-armed Men, of Targeteers, and of Horse, they came down, and sued for Peace; promising to do every Thing that was required of them, and desired *Seuthes* would take Pledges for their Fidelity. He, calling *Xenophon* to him, informed him of what they said, letting him know, at the same Time, that he would not make Peace, if he desired to take Revenge of them for attacking him. *Xenophon* answered, that he was sufficiently revenged, if these People were,

instead of Free-men to become Slaves: But, withal, adviſed him, for the future, to take, for Hoſtages, thoſe who had moſt Power to do him Harm, and to let the old Men ſtay at home. All the *Thracians*, therefore, in this Part of the Country, ſubmitted to *Seuthes*. BOOK VII.

THEY next marched into the Country, called the *Delta*, belonging to the *Thracians*, who lie above *Byzantium*. This Country did not belong to the Kingdom of *Mæſades*, but to that of *Teres*, the *Odryſian*, one of their ancient Kings: Here they found *Heraclides*, with the Money he had raiſed by the Sale of the Booty. And here *Seuthes*, having ordered three Yokes of Mules (for there were no more) and ſeveral of Oxen to be brought out, ſent for *Xenophon*, and deſired he would accept the firſt, and diſtribute the reſt among the Generals, and Captains; but *Xenophon* ſaid, *I ſhall be ſatisfied, if I, receiving your Favours another Time, give theſe to the Generals, and the Captains, who, with me, have attended you in this Expedition.* Upon which, *Timaſion*, the *Dardanian*, received one Yoke of Mules, *Cleanor*, the

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the *Orchomenian*, another, and *Phryniſcus*, the *Achaian*, the third. The Yokes of Oxen he diſtributed among the Captains; but gave the Army no more than twenty Days Pay, though the Month was expired: For *Heraclides* ſaid he could not ſell the Booty for more. *Xenophon* was concerned at this, and ſaid, *O* Heraclides! *you do not ſeem to have ſo great a Regard for* Seuthes, *as you ought to have: If you had, you would have brought the Army their full Pay; though you had taken up at Intereſt, and even ſold your own Clothes to raiſe as much as would have compleated it, if you could not get the Money by any other Means.*

THIS Reproach gave *Heraclides* great Uneaſineſs, and made him apprehend he ſhould loſe the Favour of *Seuthes*; and, from that Day, he laboured all he could to give *Seuthes* ill Impreſſions of *Xenophon*; on whom not only the Soldiers laid the Blame of their not receiving their Pay, but *Seuthes* alſo reſented his Earneſtneſs in demanding it. And whereas, before, he was, for ever, telling him that, when he arrived at the Sea, he would put him

him in Poſſeſſion of [j] *Biſanthe*, *Ganus*, and *Neon Teichus*; from this Time, he never mentioned any Thing of that Kind: For *Heraclides*, upon this Occaſion, had alſo Recourſe to Calumny, ſuggeſting that it was not ſafe to intruſt Places of Strength with a Perſon who was at the Head of an Army. BOOK VII.

UPON this, *Xenophon* conſidered with himſelf what was to be done [k] about purſuing their Expedition againſt the upper *Thracians*; when *Heraclides*, carrying the reſt of the Generals to *Seuthes*, deſired them to aſſure him that they could lead the Army, as well as *Xenophon*, and promiſed that, in a few Days, he would give them their Pay compleat for two Months, adviſing them, at the ſame Time, to continue in the Service of *Seuthes*. Upon which,

[j] Βισάνθην, καὶ Γάνον καὶ Νεὸν Τεῖχος. Towns of *Thrace* near the Sea; if the Reader pleaſes to turn to the firſt Note upon this Book, he will find that the laſt has nothing to do with the Wall built by *Dercyllidas*, for that was not built 'till the year after *Xenophon* engaged the *Greeks* in the Service of *Seuthes*.

[k] Περὶ τοῦ ἔτι ἄνω στρατεύεσθαι. *D'Ablancourt* underſtands this concerning his going over into *Aſia*; but I have choſen rather to make it relate to the Expedition of *Seuthes*, and the *Greeks*, againſt thoſe *Thracians*, who inhabited above *Byzantium*; in which I am ſupported by *Leunclavius*, and *Hutchinſon*.

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which, *Timaſion* ſaid, *If you would give me five Months Pay, I would not ſerve without* Xenophon; and *Phryniſcus* and *Cleanor* ſaid the ſame Thing.

THIS made *Seuthes* chide *Heraclides* for not calling in *Xenophon*; So they ſent for him alone; but, he being ſenſible this was an Artifice in *Heraclides*, contrived to create a Jealouſy in the reſt of the Generals, took not only all the Generals, but likewiſe all the Captains along with him: And, all of them approving of what *Seuthes* propoſed, they purſued their Expedition, and, marching through the Country of the *Thracians*, called the *Melinophagi*, with the *Euxine* Sea on their right Hand, they arrived at [1] *Salmydeſſus*. Here many Ships, upon their Arrival in the *Euxine* Sea, ſtrike, and are driven aſhore, the Coaſt being full of Shoals, that run a conſiderable Way into the Sea. The *Thracians*, who inhabit their Coaſt, raiſe Pillars, in the Nature of Bound Stones, and every Man plunders the Wreck, that

15

[1] Σαλμυδησσόν. *Salmydeſſus* was a Sea-Port lying upon the *Euxine* Sea, it is mentioned by *Arrian* in his *Periplus*; the River, the Town, and the Bay had all the ſame Name.

Arrian Periplus of the Eux-ine Sea.

is caſt upon his own Coaſt. It is ſaid that, before they erected theſe Pillars, many of them loſt their Lives by quarrelling with one another about the Plunder. In this Place are found many Beds, Boxes, Books, and ſeveral other Things, which Sailors uſually carry in their Cheſts. The Army, after they had ſubdued this People, marched back: That of *Seuthes* was now grown ſuperior in Number to the *Greeks*; for many more of the *Odryſians* were come down to him, and the *Thracians*, as faſt as they ſubmitted, joined the Army. They now lay encamped in a Plain above *Selymbria*, about fifty Stadia from the Sea: As yet no Pay appeared, and not only the Soldiers were diſpleaſed at *Xenophon*; but *Seuthes* himſelf was no longer diſpoſed in his Favour; and whenever he deſired to be admitted to him, Buſineſs of many Kinds was pretended. BOOK VII.

TWO Months were now very near elapſed, when *Charminus*, the *Lacedæmonian*, and *Polynicus* arrived from *Thimbron*. They gave an Account that the *Lacedæmonians* had reſolved to make War upon

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Tiſſaphernes, and that *Thimbron* was ſailed from *Greece* with that Deſign. They added that he had Occaſion for this Army, and that every common Soldier ſhould have a [m] Darick a Month, the Captains two, and the Generals four. Upon the Arrival of the *Lacedæmonians*, *Heraclides*, hearing they were come for the Army, immediately told *Seuthes* it was a happy Incident; *For*, ſays he, *the* Lacedæmonians *are in Want of the Army, and you are not ſo. In reſigning it, you will confer an Obligation on them, and the Soldiers will no longer aſk you for their Pay; but will leave the Country.*

SEUTHES hearing this, ordered the *Lacedæmonians* to be brought in: And, upon their ſaying they came for the Army, he told them he was willing to reſign it, and deſired they would account him their Friend, and Ally: he alſo invited them to his Table purſuant to the Laws of Hoſpitality, and gave them a magnificent Entertainment. But he did not invite *Xenophon*, or any one of the other Generals. The *Lacedæmonians* enquiring

[m] Δαρεικός. See note [m], page 9, upon the firſt Book.

quiring what kind of Man *Xenophon* was, he anſwered that he was, in other reſpects, no ill Man, but a Friend to the Soldiers; which hurts him. But, ſaid they, is he a popular Man with them? Altogether ſo, ſays *Heraclides*. Then, anſwered the *Lacedæmonians*, will not he oppoſe our carrying away the Army? If you call the Soldiers together, ſays *Heraclides*, and promiſe them Pay, they will have no Regard to him, but will quickly follow you. How, replied they, ſhall they be aſſembled for that Purpoſe? Early to-morrow Morning, ſays *Heraclides*, we will bring you to them, and I am confident, added he, that, as ſoon as they ſee you, they will chearfully aſſemble. This was the Reſult of that Day's Buſineſs. BOOK VII.

THE next, *Scuthes*, and *Heraclides* brought the *Lacedæmonians* to the Army, which aſſembled for that Purpoſe. Theſe informed them, that the *Lacedæmonians* had reſolved to make War upon *Tiſſaphernes*, *Who*, ſaid they, *has injured you. If therefore you engage with us, you will both revenge yourſelves of an Enemy, and receive each of you a Darick a Month, the Captains*

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two, and the Generals four. This was well received by the Soldiers: and, presently, one of the *Arcadians* rose up to accuse *Xenophon*. *Seuthes* was also present, being desirous to know the Result, and, for that Purpose, had placed himself within hearing with his Interpreter; though he himself understood most Things, that were spoken in *Greek*. The *Arcadian* said; *Know then, O* Lacedæmonians! *that we should, long since, have engaged ourselves in your Service, if* Xenophon *had not prevailed upon us to come hither; where, though we have been upon Duty both Night, and Day, during this severe Winter, we have* [n] *acquired nothing; while he enjoys the Reward of our Labour, and* Seuthes *enriches him personally, and deprives us of our Pay: So that, con-*

timed be, if I could see this Man stoned to Death, and punished for leading us about, I should

[n] Οὐδὲν πεπράμεθα. Πεπᾶσθαι, κεκτῆσθαι. *Hesychius.* Both which, in my Opinion, signify much oftener *to acquire* than *to possess*; I look upon the Word to have the same Sense also in that very moral, and sensible Epigram of *Solon*, the *Athenian* Legislator as quoted by *Plutarch*, in his Life of him,

Χρήματα δ' ἡμῖν μὲν ἔχειν, ἀδίκως δὲ πεπᾶσθαι
Οὐκ ἐθέλω, σαφὲς τοῦτο· δίκη δ' ὑστέρη ἦλθε δ' ἐκεῖ.

But, as πεπᾶσθαι signifies also *to possess*, I will not blame *Hutchinson* for translating it, upon this Occasion, *nihil possidemus*, though I have translated it otherwise myself: A little further it signifies, beyond all Doubt, *to possess*.

ſhould think I had received my Pay, and no longer regret my Labour. After him, another got up, and then another: Upon which, *Xenophon* ſpoke as follows: BOOK VII.

THERE is nothing a Man ought not to expect, ſince I find myſelf accuſed by you for that, in which my Conſcience tells me I have had all the Zeal in the World for your Service. I was already ſet out in order to go Home, when I turned back, be aſſured, not becauſe I heard you were in Proſperity, but rather becauſe I was informed you were in Difficulties, with this Intent that I might ſerve you, if it was in my Power. When I came to the Army, though Seuthes *ſent ſeveral Meſſengers to me with many Promiſes, in Caſe I prevailed upon you to go to him, yet I never endeavoured it, as you yourſelves know; but led you to that Place, from whence I thought you would have the quickeſt Paſſage into* Aſia: *This I looked upon as a Meaſure the moſt agreeable both to your Intereſt, and Inclination. But, when* Ariſtarchus *arrived with the Gallies, and prevented your Paſſage, I then (as it became me) called you together, that we might conſider what was to be done. Upon that Occaſion you heard, on one ſide,*

Ari-

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Ariſtarchus *ordering you to go to the* Cherſoneſus, *and, on the other,* Seuthes *propoſing Terms to engage you in his Service, when all of you declared you would go with* Seuthes, *and all gave your Votes for it. Say then, if I committed any Crime in carrying you whither you all reſolved to go. If, when* Seuthes *began to break his Promiſe concerning your Pay, I then commended him, you would have Reaſon both to accuſe, and hate me: But if I, who was before his greateſt Fricnd, am now his greateſt Enemy, how can you any longer with Juſtice blame me, who have given you the Preference to* Seuthes, *for thoſe very Things, about which I quarrel with him? Poſſibly, you may ſay that I have received your Pay of* Seuthes, *and that all I ſay is Artifice: But, is it not plain, that, if* Seuthes *paid me any Thing, it was not with a View of being deprived of that Part of your Pay which he gave me, and of paying you the reſt? On the contrary, if he had given me any Thing, I dare ſay, his Deſign would have been to excuſe himſelf from paying you a large Sum, by giving me a ſmall one. If therefore you are of Opinion, that this is the Caſe, it is in your Power preſently to render this*

this ° *Colluſion uſeleſs to both of us, by* ᵖ *inſiſting upon your Pay: For it is evident that* Seuthes, *if I have received a Bribe from him, will, with Juſtice, redemand it, when I fail in performing the Contract, in Conſideration of which I was bribed. But my Conſcience tells me that I am far from having received any Thing, that belongs to you: For I ſwear by all the* Gods, *and Goddeſſes, that I have not even received from* Seuthes *what he promiſed me in Particular. He is preſent himſelf, and, as he hears me, he knows whether I am guilty of Perjury, or not: And, that you may ſtill have more Reaſon to wonder, I alſo ſwear that I have not only received leſs than the reſt of the* Generals, *but even than ſome of the* Captains. *For what Reaſon then did I do this? I flattered myſelf, Gentlemen! that the greater Share I had of this Man's Poverty, the greater I ſhould have of his Friendſhip, when it was in his Power to ſhew it: But, I ſee him now in Proſperity, and, at the ſame Time, diſcover his Temper. Poſſibly, ſome may ſay, are you not then aſhamed to be thus ſtupidly deceived? I ſhould, indeed, be aſhamed to be thus deceived by an Enemy; but,*

° Πρᾶξις. Προδοσία. *Suidas.*

ᵖ Πράτληται αὐτὸν τὰ χρήματα. Πράτλεσθαι, ἀπαιτεῖσθαι. *Phavorinus.*

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but, in my Opinion, there is a greater Shame in deceiving a Friend, than in being deceived by him. If it is allowed to be upon one's Guard againſt a Friend, I know you have all been very careful not to give this Man a juſt Pretence to refuſe the Payment of what he promiſed: For we have neither done him any Injury, neither have we hurt his Affairs through Negligence, or through Fear, declined any Enterprize he propoſed to us. But, you will ſay, we ought then to have taken ſome Aſſurance, that, although he had been deſirous to deceive us, he might not even have had it in his Power. Hear then what I ſhould never have mentioned before him, unleſs you had ſhewn yourſelves either intirely inconſiderate, or very ungrateful to me. You remember under what Difficulties you laboured, from which I extricated you by carrying you to Seuthes. *When you offered to go into* Perinthus, *did not* Ariſtarchus *the* Lacedæmonian, *ſhut the Gates againſt you? Did not you, upon that, encamp in the open Field? Was not this in the Middle of Winter? Was there not a Scarcity of Proviſions in the Market, and a Scarcity of the Means to purchaſe them? In the mean Time, you were under a Neceſſity of ſtaying in* Thrace, *(for*

the

the Gallies lay at Anchor [q] *to observe your Motions, and hinder your Passage,) and, while you staid, you staid in an Enemy's Country, where great Numbers both of Horse, and Targeteers were ready to oppose you. It is true, we had heavy-armed Men, who, by going to the Villages, in a Body, might, possibly, provide themselves with a small Quantity of Corn, but we were not prepared to pursue the Enemy, or supply ourselves with Slaves, and Cattle: For, at my Return, I found neither the Horse, nor Targeteers, any longer, in a Body. While, therefore, you were in so great Necessity, if, without even insisting upon any Pay, I had procured* Seuthes *to become your Ally, who had both Horse, and Targeteers, which you were in Want of, do you think I should have made ill Terms for you? It was owing to their Assistance that you not only found greater Quantities of Corn in the Villages, the* Thracians *being thereby obliged to precipitate their Flight, but had also your Share both of Cattle, and Slaves. From the Time also we had the Assistance of these Horse, we saw no Enemy, though, before, they boldly harassed us both with their Horse,*

[q] Τριήρεις ἱφορμῆσαι. Εφορμεῖν. Ενεδρέυειν ἐν πολλοῖς. *Suidas.*

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Horſe, and Targeteers, and, by hindering us from going off in ſmall Parties, prevented our ſupplying ourſelves with Proviſions in any Quantity. But, if the Perſon, whoſe Aſſiſtance procured you this Security, has not alſo paid you very conſiderably for being ſecure, can you look upon this as a moving Calamity? And, for this, do you think yourſelves obliged, by no Means, to ſuffer me to live? But, in what Circumſtances are you now you are leaving this Country? After you have paſſed the Winter in Plenty, have you not, as an Acceſſion to this Advantage, the Money you have received from Seuthes? *For you have lived at the Expence of the Enemy: And, while you have been thus employed, none of you have either been killed, or taken Priſoners. If you have gained ſome Reputation againſt the* Barbarians *in* Aſia, *is not that entire, and have you not added a new Glory to it by the Conqueſt of the* European Thracians? *I own I think you ought to return Thanks to the Gods for thoſe very Things, as for ſo many Bleſſings, for which you are diſpleaſed with me. This is the Situation of your Affairs: Conſider now, I beg of you, that of mine. When I firſt ſet ſail in order to return Home, I went away attended with great*

great Praiſe from you, and, through you, BOOK *with Reputation from the reſt of* Greece: *I* VII. *had alſo the Confidence of the* Lacedæmonians: *(otherwiſe they would not have ſent me back to you) Now, I go away ſuſpected by the* Lacedæmonians *through your Means, and hated by* Seuthes *upon your Account, whom I propoſed, by uniting my Services to yours, to have made an honourable Refuge both to myſelf, and my Children, if I ſhould have any: While you, for whoſe Sake chiefly I have made myſelf odious, and that to Perſons far more powerful than myſelf; while you, I ſay, for whom I ceaſe not, even now, to procure all the Advantages I am able, entertain ſuch Thoughts of me. You have me in your Power, I neither fled from you, nor endeavoured it; and, if you do what you ſay, know that you will put to Death a Man, who has often watched for your Safety; who has undergone many Labours, and Dangers with you, while he not only did his own Duty, but that of others; who, by the Favour of the Gods, has with you raiſed many Trophies of the* Barbarians *Defeats, and who laboured, to the utmoſt of his Power, to engage you to make none of the* Greeks *your Enemies. For you are now at Liberty to go whitherſoever*

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you please either by Sea, or Land, without Controul. This then is the Season, when there is so great an Appearance of Prosperity; now you are going to sail for a Country, where you have long since desired to be; when those, who are most powerful, want your Assistance; when Pay is offered, and the Lacedæmonians, *who are allowed to be the best Generals, are come to command you; this, I say, you think the proper Season to put me to Death. You did not think fit to do it, when we were in Difficulties, O Men of admirable Memories! Then you called me Father, and promised ever to remember me as your Benefactor. However, those who are now come to command you, are not void of Sense; so that, I believe your Behaviour to me will not recommend you to them. Xenophon* said no more.

THEN *Clearinus*, the *Lacedæmonian*, rose up, and spoke in the following Manner; *Gentlemen! You seem to have no just Cause of Displeasure against this Man; since I myself can give Testimony in his Favour: For* Seuthes, *when* Polynicus *and I enquired what kind of Man* Xenophon *was, had nothing else to lay to his Charge, but that he was*

was a great Friend to the Soldiers, which, says he, *hurts him both with regard to the* Lacedæmonians, *and to myself.* After him, *Eurylochus* of *Lusi*, an *Arcadian* got up, and said: *My Opinion is,* O Lacedæmonians! *that the first Act of Generalship you exercise should be to obtain our Pay of* Seuthes, *either with, or without his Consent; and that, 'till then, you ought not to carry us away. Polycrates*, the *Athenian*, next rose up, and spoke in Favour of *Xenophon*: *Gentlemen!* says he, *I see* Heraclides *also present in the Assembly, who, having received the Booty we acquired by our Labour, and sold it, has neither paid the* [r] *Money to* Seuthes, *nor to us; but, having robbed both, still keeps Possession of it. If, therefore, we are wise,* BOOK VII.

[r] Τὰ γινόμενα. I cannot agree with *Hutchinson* that this Word is taken by *Thucydides*, in the Passage quoted by him, nearly in the same Sense our Author takes it here: In the Passage, quoted by him out of *Thucydides*, that Author says the *Athenian* Tyrants, *Hippias*, and *Hipparchus*, adorned the City, carried on the Wars, and performed the Sacrifices by exacting only the twentieth Part of the Product of the Country from the *Athenians*, Ἀθηναίοις εἰκοστὴν μόνον πρασσόμενοι τῶν γιγνομένων, which Signification of the Word is put out of all Dispute by what *Meursius* says of the Tax of the tenth Part of *the Product of the Country* imposed upon the *Athenians* by *Pisistratus*, which he calls δεκατὴν τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ γινομένων: In the Passage, therefore, of *Thucydides* τὰ γιγνόμενα signifies *the Product of the Country*, but here it signifies, as *Hutchinson* himself, and all the other Translators have rendered it, *the Money raised by the Sale of the Booty.* Thucydides, 6 B. 54 C.

BOOK VII. *wiſe, let us apprehend him: For this Man is no* Thracian; *but being himſelf a* Greek, *does an Injury to* Greeks.

HERACLIDES hearing this, was thunder-ſtruck, and, coming to *Seuthes*, ſaid, *If we are wiſe, we ſhall withdraw ourſelves out of the Power of theſe People:* So they mounted on Horſe-back, and rode off to their own Camp: From whence *Seuthes* ſent *Ebozelmius*, his Interpreter, to *Xenophon*, to deſire him to remain in his Service, with a thouſand of the heavy-armed Men, aſſuring him, at the ſame Time, that he would give him the Places of Strength near the Sea, and every Thing elſe he had promiſed him. To this he added, as a Secret, that he was informed by *Polynicus*, that, if he put himſelf in the Power of the *Lacedæmonians*, he would certainly be put to Death by *Thimbron*. Many other Perſons alſo, between whom, and *Xenophon*, there was an Intercourſe of Hoſpitality, gave him Notice, that he lay under a Suſpicion, and ought to be upon his Guard. *Xenophon*, hearing this, offered two Victims to [a] *Jupiter*

[a] Τῷ Διὶ τῷ Βασιλεῖ. See note [m], page 92, upon the ſixth Book.

piter the King, and conſulted him whether it were better, and more advantageous for him to ſtay with *Seuthes*, upon the Terms he propoſed, or to depart with the Army; and *Jupiter* ſignified to him that he ought to depart. BOOK VII.

AFTER that, *Seuthes* encamped at a greater Diſtance, and the *Greeks* quartered in the Villages, from whence they might get moſt Proviſions, before they returned to the Sea: Theſe Villages *Seuthes* had given to *Medoſades*; who, ſeeing every Thing in them conſumed by the *Greeks*, reſented it; and, taking with him an *Odryſian*, a Man of the greateſt Power of all thoſe who had come from the *Upper Thracia* to join *Seuthes*, and about fifty Horſe, came to the *Greek* Army, and called to *Xenophon* to come to him, who, taking ſome of the Captains, and other proper Perſons, went to him. Then *Medoſades* ſaid; *You do us an Injury, O* Xenophon! *in laying waſte our Villages. Wherefore, we give you Notice, I in the Name of* Seuthes, *and this Man from* Medocus *King of the* Upper Thrace, *to leave the Country: Otherwiſe, we ſhall not allow you*

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you to remain here; and, if you continue to infeſt our Territories, we ſhall treat you as Enemies.

WHEN *Xenophon* heard this, he ſaid; *What you ſay is of ſuch a Nature, that it is even a Pain to me to give an Anſwer to it: However, I ſhall return one for the Information of this Youth, that he may be acquainted both with your Behaviour, and with ours. Before we entered into an Alliance with you, we marched through this Country at our Pleaſure, and laid waſte, and burned any Part of it we thought proper: And you yourſelf when you came to us in the Quality of an Embaſſador, ſtaid with us, without the Apprehenſion of an Enemy. Whereas you, who are Subjects of* Seuthes, *either never came into this Country at all, or, if you came hither, you kept your Horſes ready bridled, while you ſtaid, as in a Country belonging to thoſe, who were more powerful than yourſelves. But now, ſince, by becoming our Allies, you have got Poſſeſſion of it, you would drive us out of this Country, though you received it from us, as a Conqueſt we were willing to reſign, for you yourſelf are ſenſible the Enemy was not ſtrong enough to diſ-*

dispossess us: And not only want to send us away [t] *without any Acknowledgement for the Benefits you have received, but also to hinder us, as far as you are able, from encamping in the Country, as we pass through it: And this you urge, without Reverence either to the Gods, or to this Man, who sees you now abounding in Riches; you who, before you entered into an Alliance with us, lived by Plunder, as you yourself have owned. But why do you say this to me?* continues he, *for I have no longer the Command, but the* Lacedæmonians, *to whom you resigned the Army, that they might carry it away, which you did without consulting me, most admirable Men! and without giving me an Opportunity of obliging them by delivering the Army to them, as I had disobliged them by carrying it to you.*

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As

[t] Ουχ ὅπως δῶρα δῷς. Ουχ ὅπως signifies here, *not only not*, in the same Manner as *Dion Cassius* uses it, where he says that *Gabinius*, being asked by *Clodius*, what he thought of the Law, he had brought in against *Cicero*, *not only did not commend* Tully, *but accused the* Roman *Knights to the Senate.* Ουχ ὅπως ἐκεῖνον ἐπῃνεσεν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἱππεων τῆς βουλῆς προσκατηγόρησεν. I make no doubt but this Grecism induced the *Latins* to give the same Force to *non modo*; the following Passage of *Tully* is a remarkable Instance of it. *Regnum non modo Romano homini, sed ne Persæ quidem cuiquam tolerabile.*

Dion Cassius, 38 B.

Cicero ad Att. lib. 10. 7.

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As ſoon as the *Odryſian* heard what *Xenophon* ſaid; *O* Medoſades! ſays he, *I am ready to ſink into the Earth with Shame, when I hear this. Had I known it before, I ſhould not have accompanied you, and ſhall now depart; for* Medocus, *my Sovereign, will not approve of my Conduct, if I ſhould drive our Benefactors out of the Country.* Having ſaid this, he mounted on Horſe-back, and rode away, with all the reſt of the Horſe, except four, or five. Upon which, *Medoſades* (for he was uneaſy to ſee the Country laid waſte) deſired *Xenophon* to call the two *Lacedæmonians*. He, taking ſome proper Perſons along with him, went to *Charminus*, and *Polynicus*, and told them *Medoſades* deſired they would come to him, deſigning to order them, as he had him, to leave the Country: *It is my Opinion, therefore,* ſays he, *that you will receive the Pay due to the Army, if you let him know that the Soldiers have deſired you to aſſiſt them in obtaining it, either with, or without the Conſent of* Scuthes; *and that they engage to follow you, with Chearfulneſs, if they ſucceed in their Demands. Tell him, at the ſame Time, that you find their Claim is founded in Juſtice, and*

and that you have promiſed them not to depart 'till they ſucceed in it. The *Lacedæmonians*, hearing this, ſaid, they would acquaint him with it, and with whatever elſe would prove moſt effectual: And immediately ſet out with proper Perſons to attend them. When they arrived, *Charminus* ſaid, *O* Medoſades! *if you have any Thing to ſay to us, ſpeak; if not, we have ſomething to ſay to you.* *Medoſades*, with great Submiſſion anſwered, Seuthes, *and I, have this to ſay: We deſire that thoſe who are become our Friends, may ſuffer no ill Treatment from you; for whatever Injury you do to them, you will now do to us, ſince they are our Subjects.* The *Lacedæmonians* replied, *We are ready to depart, as ſoon as thoſe who have forced them to ſubmit to you, have received their Pay: Otherwiſe, we are come to aſſiſt them, and take Revenge of thoſe Men, who, in Violation of their Oaths, have wronged them. If you are of that Number, we ſhall begin by doing them Juſtice againſt you.*

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THEN *Xenophon* ſaid: *Are you willing,* *O* Medoſades! *to leave it to the People, in whoſe Country we are, (ſince you ſay they are your Friends) to determine, whether you, or*

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we, ſhall leave it? This he refuſed, but deſired, by all means, the two *Lacedæmonians* would go to *Seuthes* about the Pay, and ſaid it was his Opinion *Seuthes* would hearken to them: But, if they did not approve of that, he deſired they would ſend *Xenophon* with him, aſſuring them of his Aſſiſtance in obtaining it. In the mean Time, he begged they would not burn the Villages. Upon this, they ſent *Xenophon* with ſuch Perſons as were thought moſt proper to attend him. When he came to *Seuthes*, he ſaid: *I am not come, O* Seuthes! *to aſk any Thing of you, but to demonſtrate to you as well as I am able, that you had no juſt Cauſe to be diſpleaſed with me for demanding of you, on the Behalf of the Soldiers, the Pay which you chearfully promiſed them; ſince I was convinced that it was not leſs your Intereſt to give it, than theirs to receive it: For I knew, in the firſt Place, that, next to the Gods, they have rendered you conſpicuous by making you King over a large Extent of Country, and great Numbers of People: So that your Actions, whether commendable, or infamous, cannot poſſibly be concealed from public Notice. In this Situation, I look upon it,*

it, as a Matter of great Moment to you not to have it thought that you send away your Benefactors without rewarding their Services; and not less so to have your Praise celebrated by six thousand Men. But, above all, that it concerns you, in no Degree, to derogate from the Credit of what you say; for I observe the Discourse of Men without Credit to be vain, and ineffectual, and to wander disregarded; while that of Persons, who are known to practise Truth, is not less effectual to obtain what they desire, than the Power of others; I know also that, if they propose to reform any one, their Threats are not less powerful to that End, than the immediate Punishments inflicted by others; and if such Men promise any Thing, they succeed no less by promising, than others by giving presently. Recollect with yourself what you paid us, before you received our Assistance. I know you paid us nothing. But the Confidence you created in us of your Performance of what you promised, induced such Numbers of Men to join their Arms to yours, and conquer a Kingdom for you, not only worth fifty Talents, (the Sum these Men look upon to be now due to them) but many Times that Sum. In the first Place, therefore, for this Sum, you sell your

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your Credit, to which you owe your Kingdom. After that, call to Mind of what Conſequence you thought it to you to obtain what you now have conquered, and poſſeſs. I know you wiſhed to obtain it rather than to gain many Times that Sum. Now I look upon it to be a greater Injury, as well as Diſgrace, to loſe the Poſſeſſion of this Conqueſt, than never to have gained it; as it is more grievous to a rich Man to become poor, than never to have been rich, and more afflicting to a King to become a private Man, than never to have been a King. You are ſenſible that theſe People, who are now become your Subjects, were not prevailed upon to ſubmit to you by their Affection for you, but by Neceſſity: And that they would endeavour to recover their Liberty, if they were not reſtrained by Fear. Whether therefore do you think they will be more afraid, and more devoted to your Intereſt, if they ſee not only theſe Soldiers diſpoſed to ſtay, if you deſire it, and preſently to return, if neceſſary, but others, from the advantageous Character theſe give of you, ready to come to your Aſſiſtance in any Thing you require of them; or, if they are poſſeſſed with an Opinion that, hereafter, none will ever engage in your Service from a Diſtruſt created

created by your present Behaviour; and that these have a greater Affection for them, than for you? Besides, these People did not submit to you, because they were inferior to us in Numbers; but because they wanted Leaders. This Danger, therefore, you are also exposed to: They may chuse for their Leaders some of our Men, who think themselves wronged by you, or those who have still more Power, the Lacedæmonians: *Especially, if on one Side, the Soldiers shew greater Alacrity to engage in their Service upon Condition that they force you to give them their Pay; and, on the other, the* Lacedæmonians, *from the Want they have of the Army, consent to the Condition. It is also no Secret, that the* Thracians, *who are now become your Subjects, had rather march against you, than with you: For, if you conquer, they are Slaves; and if you are conquered, free. But, if you think it incumbent on you to have any Regard to the Country, now it is your own, whether do you think it will receive less Damage, if these Soldiers, having received what they insist upon, leave it in Peace, or if they stay in it, as in an Enemy's Country; while you endeavour to raise more numerous Forces, which must also be supplied with Provi-*

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visions, and with these make head against them? And whether do you think the Expence will be greater, if the Money due to these is paid, or if this is still suffered to remain due, and it becomes necessary for you to take other Forces into your Pay [u] *powerful enough to subdue the former? But* Heraclides, *I find, by what he declared to me, thinks this Sum very considerable. It is certainly much less considerable to you now both to raise, and pay, than the tenth Part of it was before we came to you: For the Quantity of Money is not the Measure of the Greatness, or Smallness of the Sum, but the Ability of the Person, who is either to pay, or to receive it: And your annual Income now exceeds the Whole of what before you were worth. In what I have said,* O Seuthes! *I have had all the Consideration for you that is due to a Friend, to the End that*

[u] Αλλως τε κρείττονας τούτων μισθοῦσθαι. *Hutchinson* has great Reason to find Fault with *Leunclavius*, and *Almaseus*, for translating κρείττονας here, *majores Copias*, *major Exercitus*. It most certainly signifies, as he has rendered it, *armis potentiores*: *D'Ablancourt*'s Translation is still more loose than that of the two first, he has said *faire de nouvelles Levées pour nous faire vie*. I shall add to what *Hutchinson* has said a Passage in *Thucydides*, where he not only uses κρείττονας in the same Sense, but explains it himself by δυνατώτεροι; he is giving an Account of the State of *Greece* before the *Trojan* War, and says, ἐφέροντο γὰρ τῶν χρημάτων, οὔτε ἅσσον ὑπόμενον τὴν τῶν χρυσοφόρων δαπάνην, οὔτε δυνατώτεροι, περιουσίας ἔχοντες, προσεποιοῦντο ὑπήκοον, τὰς ἰλάσσους πόλεις.

Thucydides, 1 B.

that both you may appear worthy of the Favours the Gods have bestowed on you, and I not lose my Credit with the Army. For be assured that, if I desired to punish an Enemy, it is not in my Power to effect it with this Army, or to assist you, if I were again inclined to attempt it: Such is their Disposition with regard to me. And now I call both upon you, and the Gods, who know the Truth of what I say, to witness, that I have never had any Thing from you in Return for the Services you have received from the Army, or ever demanded of you, for my own Use, any Thing that was due to them, or claimed what you promised me. I also swear that, though you had been willing to perform your Promise to me, yet I would not have accepted any Thing, unless the Soldiers, at the same Time, had received what was due to them: For it would have been a Shame for me to succeed in my own Pretensions, and to suffer theirs to remain without Effect; particularly, since they had done me the Honour to chuse me for one of their Generals. Heraclides, *I know, looks upon all Things as Trifles, when compared to the Possession of Riches, by what Means soever acquired: But I, O* Seuthes! *am of Opinion, that no Possession does more be-*

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become, and adorn a Man, particularly a Prince, than that of Virtue, Juſtice, and Generoſity; for whoever enjoys theſe, is not only rich in the numerous Friends he has, but in thoſe who deſire to become ſo: If he is in Proſperity, he has many ready to rejoice with him; and if in Adverſity, to relieve him. But, if neither my Actions, nor my Words are able to convince you that I am your ſincere Friend; conſider what the Soldiers ſaid; for you were preſent, and heard the Speeches of thoſe, who were deſirous to aſperſe me. They accuſed me to the Lacedæmonians, *that I was more devoted to your Intereſt, than to that of the latter; and, at the ſame Time, objected to me that I ſtudied your Advantage more than theirs: They alſo ſaid that I had received Preſents* [x] *from you. Now, do you think they accuſed me of receiving theſe Preſents, becauſe they diſcovered in me any Indiſpoſition to your Service, or becauſe*

[x] Ἐφασαν δέ μοι οἱ δῶρα ἔχειν παρά σου. I have rendered Δῶρα here *Preſents* not *Bribes*, which would have been inconſiſtent with what he ſays afterwards, though I doubt not but every *Engliſh* Reader will have the ſame Satisfaction I have in obſerving that neither δῶρον, in *Greek*, *donum*, in *Latin*, or *un Preſent*, in *French*, have the Force of our Word *Bribe*: a Foreigner, who does not know us, may ſay that our Manners have coined the Word, but we, who know ourſelves, know how much we are above ſuch an Imputation.

cauſe they obſerved in me the greateſt Zeal to promote it? I am indeed of Opinion that all Men ought to ſhew an Affection to thoſe, from whom they have received Preſents. Before I did you any Service, you gave me a favourable Reception by your Looks, your Words, and your Hoſpitality, and never could ſatisfy yourſelf with making Promiſes. Now, you have accompliſhed what you deſired, and are become as conſiderable as I could make you, finding me thus fallen into Diſgrace with the Soldiers, you dare neglect me. But I am confident, Time will inform you that you ought to pay them what you promiſed, and alſo that you yourſelf will not ſuffer thoſe, who have been your Benefactors, to load you with Reproaches. I have, therefore, only this Favour to aſk of you, that, when you pay it, you will ſtudy to leave me in the ſame Credit with the Army in which you found me.

WHEN *Seuthes* heard this, he curſed the Man, who had been the Cauſe of their not having been paid long ſince; (every one concluding he meant *Heraclides*) *For my Part*, ſays he, *I never deſigned to deprive them of it; and will pay them what is due.* Then *Xenophon* ſaid again: *Since*

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you are resolved to pay the Money, I desire it may pass through my Hands, and that you will not suffer me to be in a different Situation with the Army now from that I was in when we came to you. *Seuthes* answered, *You shall not suffer in the Opinion of the Soldiers by my Means; and, if you will stay with only one thousand heavy-armed Men, I will give you not only the Places of Strength, but every Thing else I promised.* The other made Answer, *That is not possible, so dismiss us.* *I know*, replies *Seuthes*, *you will find it safer for you to stay with me, than to depart.* *Xenophon* answered, *I commend your Care of me: However, I cannot possibly stay, but wherescever, I am in Credit, be assured that you shall also find your Advantage in it.* Upon this, *Seuthes* said: *I have very little Money; no more than one* [y] *Talent, which I give you: But I have six hundred Oxen, four thousand Sheep, and one hundred and twenty Slaves: Take these with you, together with the Hostages of those who wronged you.* *Xenophon* replied smiling; *But, if these are not sufficient to raise the Money that is due, whose Talent shall I say I have? Is it not more advisable for me, since my Return is attended with*

[y] Τάλαντον. See note [m], page 9, upon the first Book.

with Danger, to take Care I am not ſtoned? you heard their Threats. The Remainder of the Day they ſtaid there. BOOK VII.

THE next, he delivered to them what he had promiſed; and ſent Perſons with them to drive the Cattle. In the mean Time, the Soldiers ſaid that *Xenophon* was gone to *Seuthes* with a Deſign to live with him, and to receive what the other had promiſed him: But, when they ſaw him returned, they were rejoiced, and ran to him. As ſoon as *Xenophon* ſaw *Charminus*, and *Polynicus*, he ſaid, *The Army is obliged to you for theſe Things. I deliver them to you; do* [z] *you ſell them, and diſtribute the Money among the Soldiers.* They, having received the Things, and appointed Perſons to diſpoſe of them, ſold them accordingly, and incurred great Cenſure. *Xenophon* had no Share in the Management; but openly prepared to return home: For he was [a] not yet baniſh-

[z] Διατιθέμενοι. Διάδοτε. See note [q], page 144, upon the ſixth Book.

[a] Ου γάρπω ψῆφος αὐτῷ ἐπῆκτο Αθήνησι περὶ τῆς φυγῆς. See the Author's Life at the Beginning of this Tranſlation.

BOOK VII. banished from *Athens*. But his [b] Friends in the Army came to him, and begged he would not leave them 'till he had carried away the Army, and delivered it to *Thimbron*.

AFTER this, they crossed the Sea to [c] *Lampsacus*, where *Euclides*, the *Phliasian* Priest, the Son of [d] *Cleagoras* who painted the

[b] Επιτήδειοι. Επιτήδειος. φίλος· ἔυνους· ἀρμόδιος. *Suidas* I have chosen the first of these with *d'Ablancourt*. The two *Latin* Translators have preferred the last.

[c] Εις Λάμψακον. *Lampsacus* was a Sea-Port Town in *Asia* upon the *Hellespont*, over-against *Ægos Potamos*; that Streight is there about fifteen Stadia over, that is, about an *English* Mile and a half. *Lysander*, the *Lacedæmonian* General, took *Lampsacus* just before he defeated the *Athenians* at the last mentioned Place. See the Introduction.

Xenoph. 2 *B. of the Affairs of* Greece.

[d] Κλεαγόρᾳ υἱῷ τῷ τὰ ἐνύπνια ἐν Λυκείῳ γεγραφότος. Doctor *Potter*, the late worthy Primate of *England*, in his *Archæologia Græca*, that Treasure of *Greek* Learning, says the *Lyceum* was situated upon the Banks of the *Ilissus*, and received its Name from *Apollo* Λυκοκτόνος or Λύκιος, to whom it was dedicated. The *Greek* Scholiast upon *Aristophanes*, and *Suidas* says it was a Place designed for military Exercises. I am sorry I cannot get any Light concerning the Painter, and Picture mentioned by *Xenophon*, but nothing is to be found in *Pliny*, or *Pausanias* concerning either, though several considerable Painters, who flourished before this Time, are mentioned by the former, as *Polygnotus*, and *Micon*, who painted a Portico at *Athens* called the *Pœcile*; and particularly *Panænus*, Brother to *Phidias* the famous Statuary, who painted the Battle of *Marathon*, where the Generals, both *Greeks*, and *Persians* were represented as big as the Life, which I take to be the Signification of *Iconici Duces*, the Words made use

Archæol. Græc. 1 *B. c.* 8.

Aristop. ἱππέυ. *p.* 646.

Pl. N. H. 35 *B c.* 34.

the Dreams in the *Lyceum*, met *Xenophon*, and after congratulating him upon his safe Return; asked him how much Gold he had. The other swore to him that he had not Money enough to carry him Home, unless he sold his Horse, and his Equipage: However, *Euclides* gave no Credit to him. But, after the Inhabitants of *Lampsacus* had sent him Presents in token of their Hospitality, and *Xenophon* was offering Sacrifice to *Apollo* in his Presence, *Euclides*, upon viewing the Entrails of the Victims, said, he was now convinced he had no Money. *But*, added he, *I find, if there should ever be a Prospect of any, that there will be some Obstacle, and, if no other, that you will be an Obstacle to yourself.* *Xenophon* owned this: Upon which, *Euclides* said, *The* [c] Meilichian Jupiter BOOK VII.

use of by *Pliny* upon that Occasion; since *Athenæus* calls Statues as big as the Life εἰκονικὰ ἀγάλματα, and *Plato* says εἰκόνα ἰσομέτρητον in the same Sense. 1 *B.* *In* Phæd.

[c] Ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ Μειλίχιος. There is a Passage in *Thucydides*, where, speaking of *Cylon*'s seizing the Citadel of *Athens*, he mentions the *Athenian* Festival celebrated without the Walls of the City in Honour of the *Meilichian Jupiter*, which he calls Διάσια *Diasia*, at which, he says, all the People attended, and sacrificed not Victims, but Cakes made in the Shape of Animals, *according to the Custom of the Country*, οὐχ ἱερεῖα, ἀλλ' θύματα ἐπιχώρια; for so the *Greek* Scholiast explains the Word θύματα. The Reason of my being so particular is, that *Xenophon* says he offer- Thucydides, 1 *B.* c. 126.

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piter *is an Obſtacle to you*, and aſked him whether he had, at any Time, offered Sacrifice to the ſame *Jupiter*, and burned Hogs whole to him *according to the Cuſtom of his Country*, Ξενοφῶν ἐθύετο, καὶ ὁλοκάυτει χοίρους τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ: Are we then to imagine that either *Thucydides*, or *Xenophon* were uninformed of the Cuſtom of their Country upon ſo great a Solemnity? I ſhould almoſt be tempted to think the Hogs, *Xenophon* ſays he burned whole, were alſo Cakes made in the Shape of Hogs. There is a Paſſage in *Herodotus*, that, in ſome Degree, favours this Conjecture; he ſays the *Egyptians*, notwithſtanding their known Averſion to Hogs, ſacrificed them one Day in the Year to the *Moon*, and *Bacchus*, when they eat their Fleſh, which they taſted upon no other Day, and that the poorer Sort made Cakes reſembling Hogs, and, roaſting them, offered them in ſacrifice: οἱ δὲ πένητες αὐτῶν ὑπ' ἀσθενείης βίου, ϛαιτίνας πλάσαντες ὗς, καὶ ὀπτήσαντες, τάυτας θύουσι. But what Affinity is there between the religious Cuſtoms of the *Egyptians* and the *Athenians?* So great an Affinity that we find in *Diodorus Siculus*, the *Egyptians* pretended that the *Athenians* were one of their Colonies, and had received the *Eleuſinian* Myſteries from them, which they ſaid *Erichtheus*, an *Egyptian*, and, afterwards, King of *Athens*, carried from *Egypt*, and inſtituted among the *Athenians* in Honour of *Ceres*. I cannot ſay that I ever met with an Account, in any *Greek* Author, of Cakes offered by the *Greeks* in the Reſemblance of Hogs; but, beſides the Authority of the *Greek* Scholiaſt upon the Paſſage already mentioned in *Thucydides*, where he explains θύματα, τινὰ πέμματα εἰς ζώων μορφὰς τετυπωμένα, *Cakes made in the Shape of Animals* generally; I ſay, beſides that Paſſage, we find in *Julius Pollux* that the *Greeks* offered Cakes to all the Gods, which Cakes had their Names from their different Shapes, as an Ox, which was a Cake with Horns and was offered to *Apollo*, and *Diana*, and *Hecate*, and the *Moon*. πέλανοι δὲ κοινοὶ πᾶσι θεοῖς, κέκληνται δὲ ἀπὸ τῆ σχήματος, ὥσπερ ὁ Βῦς· πέμμα γάρ ἐϛι, κέρατα ἔχον πεπηγμένα προσφερόμενον Απόλλωνι, καὶ Αρτέμιδι, καὶ Εκάτῃ, καὶ Σελήνῃ. I ſhall conclude this Note with obſerving that *Apollo*, when taken for the *Sun*, was the ſame, among the *Egyptians*, and, afterwards, among the *Greeks*,

Herodot. *in* Euterp.

Diod. Sic. 1 *B.*

Julius Pollux, 6 *B.* 76, *ſeq.*

Sacrifice, in the ſame manner, as I, ſays he, uſed to ſacrifice for you at *Athens*, and offer a Holocauſt. *Xenophon* anſwered that, ſince he had been from Home, he had not ſacrificed to that God; the other adviſed him to offer Sacrifice to that Divinity, aſſuring him that it would be for his Advantage. The next Day, *Xenophon*, going to [f] *Ophrynion* offered Sacrifice, and burned Hogs, whole according to the Cuſtom of his Country; and the Entrails were favourable. The ſame Day, *Biton*, and *Euclides* arrived with Money for the Army: Theſe contracted an

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Greeks, with *Dionyſius*, or *Bacchus*, as *Diodorus Siculus* proves from this Verſe of *Eumolpus*. Diod. Sic. 1 *B.*

Ἀγροφαῆ Διόνυσον ἐν ἀκτίνεσσι πυρωπόν,

And from another in *Orpheus*. Now, every body knows that theſe were the ſame with *Oſiris*, as *Diana*, *Hecate*, and the *Moon* were the ſame Divinity with *Iſis*; ſo that the Cuſtom, mentioned by *Julius Pollux*, of offering Cakes in the Shape of Animals, to have been in Practice among the *Greeks*, ſeems to be derived from that mentioned by *Herodotus* to have been in Uſe among the *Egyptians*; eſpecially, ſince we find they were offered to the ſame Divinities. *D'Ablancourt* ſeems to have forgot that *Jupiter* was worſhipped at *Athens* under the Title of *Meilichius*, for he takes the Name to be allegorical to the Mildneſs of *Xenophon*'s Character, who did not make his Fortune *pour avoir trop de Pudeur*, as he ſays, *becauſe he was too baſhful*.

[f] Ὀφρύνιον. A Town of *Dardania*, near which ſtood the Grove of *Hector* upon a conſpicuous Place. Strabo, 13 *B.*

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an Intercourſe of Hoſpitality with *Xenophon*, and, hearing he had ſold his Horſe at *Lampſacus* for fifty Daricks, and ſuſpecting he had ſold him through Want, becauſe they were informed he was fond of him, they redeemed the Horſe, and reſtored him to *Xenophon*, refuſing to accept the Price they had paid for him.

FROM thence they marched through *Troas*, and, paſſing over Mount *Ida*, came firſt to [g] *Antandrus*: Then, continued their March along the Coaſt of the *Lydian* Sea, to the Plain of *Thebes*. From thence through [h] *Atramyttium*, and *Certonicum* by *Aterne*

[g] Διὰ τῆς Τροίας, καὶ ὑπερβάντες τὴν Ἰδην, εἰς Ἀντάνδρου ἀφικνοῦνται. The Misfortunes of *Troy*, or rather the fine Relations of them, have rendered all theſe Parts famous, ſo that there is no neceſſity of ſaying any Thing, either of *Troas*, or Mount *Ida*: *Antandrus*, was the Sea-port, where *Æneas* built his Fleet to preſerve the Remains of his Country: But one Thing muſt not be forgot; above *Antandros* was a Mountain, called *Alexandria*, from *Paris*, where they ſay he paſſed Judgment upon the three contending Goddeſſes. The Town that gave Name to the Plain of *Thebe*, was called by the ſame Name, and belonged to *Eëtion* the Father to *Andromache*,

Virg. 3 B.

Strabo, 13 B.

Homer Il. α.

Ωχόμεθ' εἰς Θήβην ἱερὴν πόλιν Ηετίωνος.

In the taking of this Town *Chryſeis* was taken Priſoner, and given to *Agamemnon*; the reſtoring of whom, with the Difficulties that attended it, and the Conſequences that flowed from it, are the Subject of the Iliad.

[h] Δι' Ατραμυτλίου καὶ Κιρτονίου παρ' Αταρνέα εἰς Καΐκου πεδίον ἐλθόντες, Πέργαμον καλαλαμβάνουσι τῆς Μυσίας.

The

Aterne to the Plain of *Caïcus*, and reached *Pergamus*, a City of *Myſia*. Here, *Xenophon* was entertained by *Hellas*, the Wife of *Gongylus*, the *Eretrian*, and the Mother of *Gorgion*, and *Gongylus*. She informed him that *Aſidates*, a *Perſian*, lay encamped in the Plain, adding that with three hundred Men, he might ſurprize him in the Night, and take him with his Wife and Children, and all his Riches, which were very conſiderable. At the ſame Time, ſhe ſent a Perſon, who was her Couſin-German together with *Daphnagoras*, for whom ſhe had a particular Value, to conduct them in the Enterprize: *Xenophon*, therefore, while theſe were with him, offered Sacrifice; and *Agaſias*, the *Helean* Prieſt, being preſent, ſaid the Victims were very favourable, and that the *Perſian* might be taken Priſoner. Accordingly, after Supper, he ſet out, taking with him thoſe Captains, who were moſt his Friends, and had ever been faith-

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The firſt of theſe is a Sea-Port that gives its Name to the *Bay*, the other two are Towns in, or near the Road from the firſt to the Plain that is watered by the River *Caïcus*. *Pergamus* was the Reſidence of the *Attalic* Kings; the laſt of whom left it with his Kingdom by Will to the *Roman* People. Strabo, 13 *B.* Livy, *Ep.* 58.

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faithful to him, that he might procure them ſome Advantage: Others, to the Number of ſix hundred accompanied him whether he would or no; but the Captains rode on before them, leſt they ſhould be obliged to give them a Share of the Booty, which they looked upon as their own.

THEY arrived about Midnight, when they ſuffered the Slaves, that lay round the Caſtle, together with a conſiderable Quantity of Effects, to eſcape, to the End they might take *Aſidates* himſelf with his Riches: But not being able to take the Place by Aſſault, (for it was both high, and large, well fortified with Battlements, and defended by a good Number of brave Men) they endeavoured to make a Breach in the Wall; which was eight Bricks thick: However, by Break of Day the Breach was made; which was no ſooner effected, than one of thoſe, who were within, ran the foremoſt Man through the Thigh with a large

[1] Βυπόρῳ ὀβελίσκῳ. Βυπόρους ὀβελοὺς, μεγάλους ὀβελίσκους. Eurip. *in Phavorinus.* In this Senſe *Euripides* takes it in his *Cyclops*, Cycl. 2 where *Ulyſſes* tells him,

Act. Οὐκ ἀμφὶ βυπόροισι πηχθέντας μίλη
Ὀβελοῖσι, νηδὺν ᾗ γναθον πλῆσαι σίθεν.

large Spit: After that, they ſent ſuch a Shower of Arrows, that it was no longer ſafe to approach the Wall. In the mean Time, their Cries, and the Signals they made by lighting Fires, drew *Itabelius*, with his Forces, to their Aſſiſtance: There came alſo from *Comania*, the Garriſon, conſiſting of heavy-armed Men together with ſome *Hyrcanian* Horſe, who were in the King's Pay, being about eighty in Number, and eight hundred Targeteers; beſides others from *Partheнium*, *Apollonia*, and the neighbouring Places, and alſo Horſe. BOOK VII.

IT was now Time for the *Greeks* to conſider how to make their Retreat: To effect this, they took all the Oxen, and Sheep that were there, and then, forming themſelves into a hollow Square, and, placing them with the Slaves in the middle, they marched away. They were now no longer ſolicitous for their Booty, but only left, by leaving it behind, their Retreat might ſeem a Flight, which would have increaſed both the Confidence of the Enemy, and the Dejection of their own Men: Whereas, while they

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made their Retreat in this Diſpoſition, they ſeemed reſolved to defend their Booty. In the mean Time *Gongylus*, ſeeing the Number of the *Greeks* was ſmall, and that of the Enemy, who hung upon their Rear, very conſiderable, came out himſelf, againſt his Mother's Will, at the Head of his own Forces, being deſirous to have a Share in the Action: [k] *Procles* alſo, who was deſcended from *Damaratus*, came to their Aſſiſtance from *Eliſarne*, [l] and *Teuthrania*. Now, as *Xenophon*'s Men ſuffered very much from the Enemy's Arrows, and Slings, while they marched in a Ring, in Order to cover themſelves from the Arrows with their Shields, it was with great Difficulty they paſſed the River *Caïcus*, near half their Number being wounded. Here *Agaſias* of *Stymphalus*, one of the Captains, was wounded, having the whole Time fought with great Bravery. At laſt they arrived ſafe with about two hundred Slaves, and Cattle enough for Sacrifice.

THE

[k] Πρόκλης —— ὁ ἀπὸ Δαμαράτου. See note [a], page 114, upon the ſecond Book.

[l] Παρθένιον —— Ἀπολλώνια —— Ἐλισάρνη —— Τευθρανία. Pl. N. H. 5 *B. c.* 33. Theſe four Towns are alſo placed by *Pliny* in *Myſia*.

THE next Day, *Xenophon* offered Sacri- BOOK
fice, and, in the Night, led out the whole VII.
Army with a Design to march as far as poſſible into *Lydia*, to the Intent that the *Perſian*, ſeeing him no longer in his Neighbourhood, might be free from Fear, and unguarded. But *Aſidates*, hearing that *Xenophon* had again offered Sacrifice concerning a ſecond Expedition againſt him, and that he would return with the whole Army, quitted the Caſtle, and encamped in ſome Villages reaching to the Walls of *Parthenium*. Here, *Xenophon*'s Men met with him, and took him with his Wife, and Children, his Horſes, and all his Riches: And this was the Succeſs promiſed in the former [m] Sacrifice. After that they returned to *Pergamus*. Here *Xenophon* had no Reaſon to complain of *Jupiter Meilichius*; for the *Lacedæmonians*, the Captains, the reſt of the Generals, and the Soldiers, all conſpired to [n] ſelect for

[m] Τὰ πρότερα ἱερά. I imagine with *Hutchinſon*, that *Xenophon* means the Sacrifice he ſays he offered in the Preſence of *Agaſias* of *Elis*, to diſtinguiſh it from that which he offered the Day after their unſucceſsful Expedition.

[n] Ὡς ἐξαίρετα λαμβάνειν. It was an early Cuſtom among the Ancients to ſelect the moſt valuable Part of the

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for him not only Horſes, but Yokes of Oxen, and other Things: So that he had it now in his Power even to oblige a Friend.

AFTER this, *Thimbron* arrived, and, taking the Command of the Army, joined it to the reſt of the *Greek* Forces, and made War upon *Tiſſaphernes*, and *Pharnabazus*.

THE following Perſons were the King's Governors of the Countries, through

the Booty for their Generals, which makes the following Reproach from *Therſites* to *Agamemnon* very impertinent, and conſequently very agreeable to the Character of the Man who makes it.

Homer Il. β.

Ατρείδη, τέο δ' αὖτ' ἐπιμέμφεαι, ἠὲ χατίζεις;
Πλεῖαί τοι χαλκῷ κλισίαι, πολλαὶ δὲ γυναῖκες
Εἰσὶν ἐνὶ κλισίῃς ἐξαίρετοι, ἄς τοι Ἀχαιοὶ
Πρωτίστῳ δίδομεν, εὖτ' ἂν πτολίεθρον ἕλωμεν.

Where ἐξαίρετοι is thus very properly explained by the *Greek* Scholiaſt αἱ κατὰ τιμὴν διδόμεναι ἀπὸ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων. *Virgil* has preſerved this Cuſtom, and tranſlated ἐξαιρετῶν in the ninth Book, where he makes *Aſcanius* promiſe *Niſus* the War-Horſe, the Shield, and Helmet of *Turnus* at his Return from the Enterprize he, and *Euryalus* had undertaken.

Vidiſti quo Turnus equo, quibus ibat in armis
Aureus? ipſum illum, clypeum criſtaſque rubentes
Excipiam ſorti, *jam nunc tua præmia Niſe.*

In the eighth Book, *Virgil* calls the Horſe, which was reſerved for *Æneas*'s own riding, when he went to the *Tuſcans* to implore their Aſſiſtance, *exſortem*, which is a literal Tranſlation of ἐξαίρετος.

through which we marched; of *Lydia*, *Artimas*; of *Phrygia*, *Artacamas*; of *Lycaonia* and *Cappadocia*, *Mithridates*; of *Cilicia*, *Syennesis*; of *Phœnicia*, and *Arabia*, *Dernis*; of *Syria*, and *Assyria*, *Belesis*; of *Babylon*, *Roparas*; of *Media*, *Arbacas*; of the *Phasians*, and *Hesperitans*, *Teribazus*; (the *Carduchians*, the *Chalybians*, the *Chaldæans*, the *Macrons*, the *Colchians*, the *Mossynæcians*, the *Cætans*, and *Tibarenians* being free Nations) of *Paphlagonia*, *Corylas*; of the *Bithynians*, *Pharnabazus*; and of the *European Thracians*, *Scuthes*. BOOK VII.

THE whole of the Way, both of the Expedition, and Retreat consisted of two hundred and fifteen Days March of [o] eleven

[o] Παρασάγγαι χίλιοι ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα, στάδια τρισμύρια τετρακισχίλια, διακόσια πεντήκοντα πέντε. I have followed *Hutchinson*'s Correction, who, very properly, I think, instead of διακοσια, reads ἑξακόσια, and takes away the Word πέντε. Concerning these Measures of Length, see note [x], page 15, upon the first Book. To which I shall only add that these Parasangas, or Stadia, being reduced to *English* Miles, amount to no more than 3305 Miles and a half, and not to 4331, as *Hutchinson* has computed it, who, I find, reckons eight Stadia to an *English* Mile; eight Stadia, indeed, make a μίλιον, or *Greek* Mile, but do not, by a great deal, amount to an *English* Mile; since an *English* Mile, according to *Arbuthnot*, contains 1056 geometrical Paces, and a *Greek* Mile only 806: So that an *English* Mile is to a *Greek* Mile, as 1056 to 806. 4331 *Greek* Miles being, therefore, contained

Arbuthnot of Weights and Measures.

BOOK VII.

ven hundred fifty-five Paraſangas, and of thirty-four thouſand ſix hundred and fifty Stadia, and the Time, employed in both, of a Year, and three Months.

tained in 34650 Stadia, if we ſay, 1056 : 806 : : 4331 : the proportional Number will be 3305, with a Fraction of 668, ſo that 3305 $\frac{1}{2}$ will be, to a trifle, the Number of *Engliſh* Miles contained in the 34650 Stadia mentioned by *Xenophon* to have been the Amount both of the Expedition and Retreat.

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